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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER



LAO-TZE.

From a statuette in the Musée Guimet.

The Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

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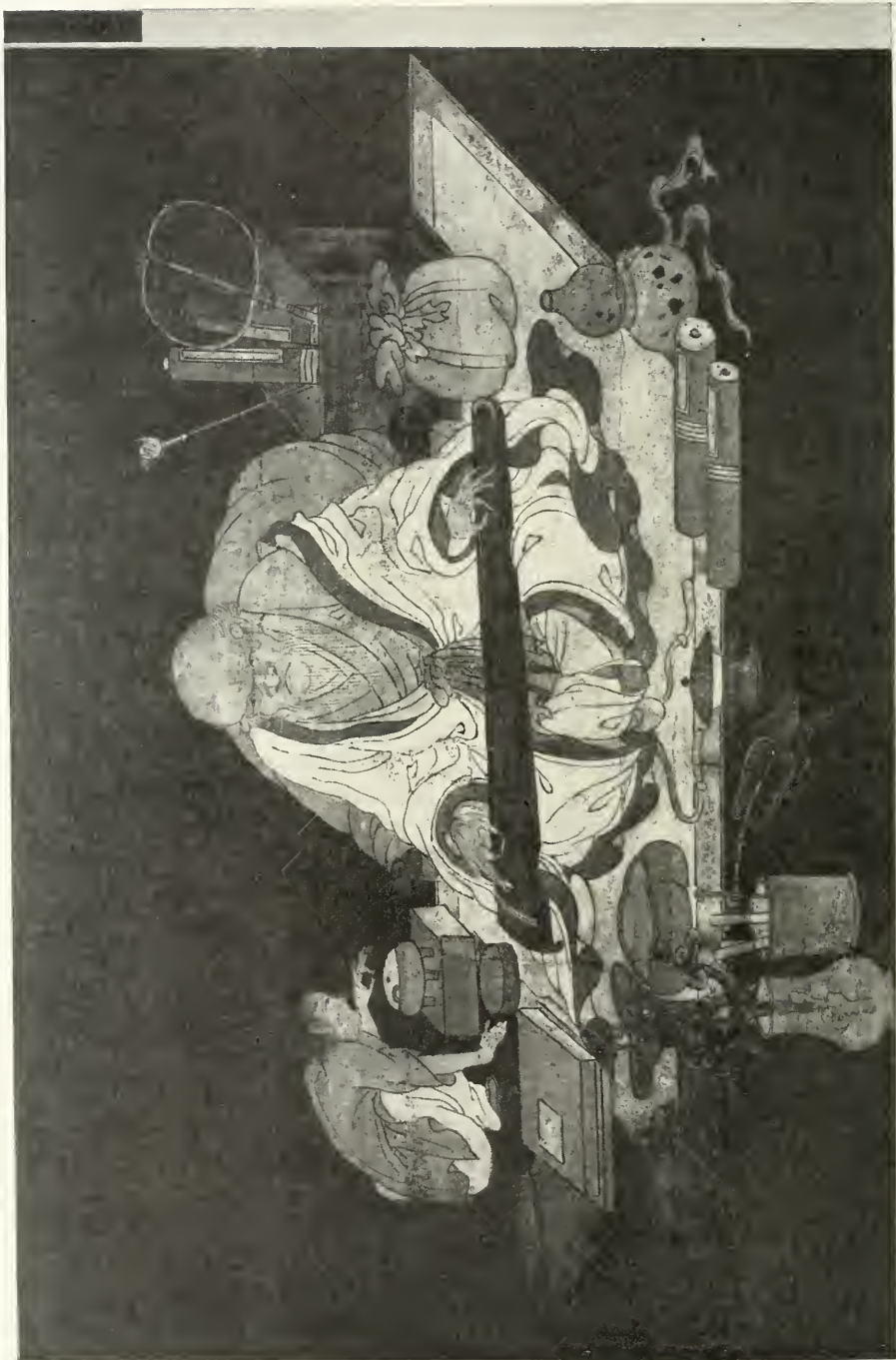
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THE OPEN COURT

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**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XXVII (No. 2)

FEBRUARY, 1913

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ALBANIA.

BY THE EDITOR.

WAR clouds have been hanging over Europe and the storm center is the Balkan peninsula. The most active factors are the three small states of Servia, Bulgaria and Montenegro. They are assisted by Greece and their aim is the downfall of Constantinople, which would mean the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. The two powers of the European concert most interested are Austria and Russia, the former supported by Germany and Italy, the latter by France and England. The position of Turkey would be hopeless in the face of the victorious march of the allied Balkan states toward Constantinople if the European concert would allow Constantinople to fall into their hands. But there is another feature in the present state of things which renders the crisis more complicated. It is the importance of Albania, the mountainous district between Montenegro and Greece stretching along the western coast of the Balkan peninsula for about 180 miles, but extending inland nowhere more than 100 miles and only 30 miles in its southern portion.

The allied states are determined to divide Albania among themselves and actually began to invade the country. But here Austria interfered, for having taken possession of the Dalmatian coast, Herzegovina and Bosnia, it extends its empire to the northern frontier of Albania, and is bound not to let this country fall into other hands. Thus Austria stands for the independence of Albania and is willing to wage war in her defence. In this way Albania has suddenly burst into a prominence it never before possessed, and all the world is interested to know what kind of a country it is and what kind of people the Albanians may be.

The main sources of our knowledge of Albania are J. Cam Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), Sir Henry Holland, the Rev. T. S. Hughes, Mrs. Mary A. Walker, Col. Leake, Dr. J. G. von Hahn, Theodor A. Ippen, Karl Steinmetz, Dr. Franz Baron Nopcsa, Dr. Erich Liebert, Dr. Träger, Dr. Schultz, Dr. A. Wirth und Dr. Ernst Jäckh. Dr. Jäckh's book, *Im türkischen Kriegslager durch Albanien* (1911), though antiquated with respect to the author's great expectations that Turkey will prove a rising power (for he is a decided Turkophil), has been to us the most important source of information.



RAPIDS OF THE VARDAR NEAR DEMIRKAPU.

Our illustrations are based on photographs taken by different people and published in this book.

Albania has rightly been called the darkest part of Europe. Its interior is almost as unknown as the darkest part of Central Africa. The best maps are those made by the Austrian general staff, and even these maps only follow certain portions along the most accessible valleys. They leave large portions blank, or only indicate what kind of a country the cartographers thought it might be. The reason is that very few travelers have dared to penetrate into the

interior, for the inhabitants do not possess the usual customs of civilized countries. Most of the people are robbers and brigands, and murder is not considered a crime. The stranger has no right to protection unless he is received at the hearth, according to the usages of primitive savages. He is an outlaw if found on the road, and may be shot down from ambush without rousing the authorities to investigate the case.

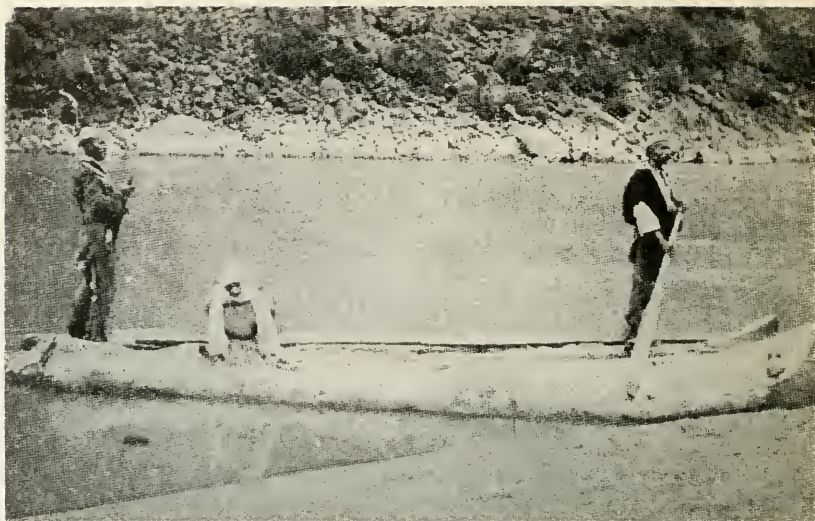
The southern part of the country is the ancient Epirus, and the only time it ever played an important part in history was when Pyrrhus led his troops against Rome and threatened its very existence in a ferocious and formidable attack, which however lacked insistence and after a great display of valor ended in a lamentable failure.

Albania received its name in the fifteenth century when several more northerly tribes combined with Epirus into one country marked by a similarity in race, language and customs. The reason it has never influenced the world, and has never grown into a united state is because its inhabitants have always been too lawless and independent to come to an agreement after the fashion of a civilized nation. Each person feels bound to preserve the traditional customs of their forebears, and their supreme rule is not to recognize any authority above themselves. Every man takes the law in his own hands and deems it his privilege to rob and pillage wherever he can do so with impunity; every one is inseparable from his weapons, and no man would venture on a journey or even on the public high road without his gun. The most ancient habits of primitive Europe are here preserved and the influence of progress since the days of King Pyrrhus is practically nil.

Epirus and its descendant Albania have been repeatedly subdued, but their submission has always been merely nominal. Macedonia has succeeded in having its sovereignty recognized, but the Macedonian government could not be established in the mountainous regions of Albania. When Cæsar landed in Dyrrhachium¹ he induced the people to take up arms against Pompey and the inhabitants of Epirus recognized the Roman emperor, but no Roman governor dared to levy taxes or succeeded in enforcing Roman law in the interior of the country, and this remained true after the division of the empire. The Greek emperors considered Albania a Greek province, but the Albanians remained as ferocious and uncivilized as before.

When the Greek empire broke down from the assaults of the

¹ The modern Durazzo.



ALBANIAN CANOE (A HOLLOWED TREE).



ALBANIAN "TCHERK."

A ferry constructed of inflated goat-skins and wicker.

Turks under Mohammed II there was a change in the nominal ownership of Albania but no change of conditions. Of the many wars between the Turks and the Albanians the most celebrated was the one in which the Albanians were led by George Castriota, called Scanderbeg by the Turks. This patriot became the national hero, and he repulsed the victorious Mohammedans several times when they dared to enter Albania. He was the son of an Albanian chieftain and a Servian princess, and on account of his father's prominence had been sent to the court of Constantinople where he received



ON THE WARPATH.

a Mohammedan education. When he returned to his home his Albanian patriotism was aroused and the rest of his life was devoted to a fierce warfare against the sultan, lasting from 1443 to 1467 when he succumbed to a severe attack of malaria. The Albanians lost in him a chief who had frequently led them to victory, and after his death the Turks regained a footing in the country. In a peace concluded at Venice in 1478 the sovereignty of Turkey over Albania was recognized although never permanently established. Revolts were frequent and the only thing which caused a pleasant relation was Turkey's demand for adventurous soldiers.

The Turks recruited their armies in Albania with success, for the Albanians were always ready for a brawl and eager for spoils and could easily be induced to fight for any cause against any country where spoils could be expected.

Through the friendly relation between the quasi-conquerors, the Turks, and the partially subjected Albanians, the Mohammedan religion took a firm root in the country, but the Islam of the Albanians is by no means the orthodox religion of Mohammed. Christianity was not suppressed; on the contrary it was retained, and the two confessions, the Greek and the Roman churches, hate each other far more than they hate the Mohammedans. Thus it happens that the religious conditions in Albania are a regular *melée*. The



THE SERVIAN CHURCH, THE MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE, AND THE CITADEL OF PRIZREN.

men of the family mostly go to the mosques while the women attend church either according to the Greek or Latin ritual. There is no quarrel on account of religion except between the Greeks and the Latins.

In its original and main stock the Albanian race is most probably the purest remnant of the ancestors of the Greeks. Greek traditions refer with great reverence to the sacred oak and the oracle of Dodona, and so the ancient Epirotes must have been cousins to the Macedonians, the Thracians, the Illyrians and the Pelasgi of ancient Greece. The latter were probably their nearest kin. The present language seems to preserve some traces of pre-Hellenic speech, but it has been influenced successively by Greek, Roman, Slavic (Servian and Bulgarian) and Turkish ingredients.

The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* contains the following account of the Albanian language:

"Albanian is particularly interesting as the only surviving representative of the so-called Thracian-Illyrian group of languages which formed the primitive speech of the peninsula. It has afforded an attractive study to philologists, amongst whom may be mentioned Malte-Brun, Leake, Xylander, Hahn, Miklosich and G. Meyer. The analysis of the language presents great difficulties, as, owing to the



A MOHAMMEDAN COUPLE OF SHIOLA SYPER.

absence of literary monuments, no certainty can be arrived at with regard to its earlier forms and later development. The groundwork, so far as it can be ascertained, and grammar are Indo-European, but a large number of words have been borrowed from the Latin or Italian and Greek, and it is not always easy to decide whether the mutilated and curtailed forms now in use represent adopted words or belong to the original vocabulary. There is also a considerable mixture of Turkish and Slavonic words. Notwithstanding certain points of resemblance in structure and phonetics, Albanian is en-

tirely distinct from the neighboring languages; in its relation to early Latin and Greek it may be regarded as a coordinate member of the Aryan stock. It possesses seven vowels; among the consonants are the aspirated *d* and *t* as in Greek, and many other sounds such as *b*, *d*, *sh*, *zh* (French *j*), and hard *g*, which are wanting in Greek but exist in the Slavonic languages. There are three declensions, each with a definite and indefinite form; the genitive, dative and ablative are usually represented by a single termination; the



MALSIA WOMEN WITH SPINDLE AND PITCHER.

vocative is formed by a final *o* as *memmo* from *memme*, 'mother.' The neuter gender is absent. There are two conjugations; the passive formation, now wanting in most European languages, has been retained as in Greek; thus *kerko-iy*, 'I seek,' forms *kerko-n-cm*, 'I am sought.' The infinitive is not found; as in Greek, Roumanian and Bulgarian, it is replaced by the subjunctive with a particle. The two auxiliary verbs are *kām*, 'I have,' and *yām*, 'I am.' An interesting and characteristic feature of the language is the definite article, which is attached to the end of the word: e. g., *mik* ('friend,'

amicus), *mik-u* ('the friend'); *kien* ('dog'), *kien-i*; *Shkumb*, *Shkumb-i*. The suffix article likewise appears in Roumanian and Bulgarian, but in no other Latin or Slavonic language; it is in each case a form of the demonstrative pronoun. Another remarkable analogy between the Albanian and neighboring languages is the formation of the future; the Albanian *do* (3d person singular of *dova*, 'I will'), like the Greek $\theta\alpha$, is prefixed without change to all persons of the verb; a similar usage in Servian and Bulgarian, as well as in Roumanian (especially the Macedonian dialect), is pecu-



A MOHAMMEDAN MOUNTAIN GIRL OF ALBANIA.

liar to these languages in the Latin and Slavonic groups. These and other points of similarity, possibly only accidental, have led to the conjecture that the primitive Illyrian language may have exerted some kind of an influence on the other idioms of the peninsula. In the absence of literary culture the Albanian dialects, as might have been expected, are widely divergent; the limits of the two principal dialects correspond with the racial boundaries of the Ghegs and the Tosks, who understand each other with difficulty; the Albanians in Greece and Italy have also separate dialects. In writing Albanian

the Latin character is employed by the Ghegs, the Greek by the Tosks; neither alphabet suffices to represent the manifold sounds of the language, and various supplementary letters or distinguishing signs are necessary. In the use of these no uniform system has yet been adopted. An alphabet of 52 letters, some presenting ancient Phenician and Cretan forms, was found by Hahn in partial use at Elbassan and Tirana; its antiquity however has not been established.



AN ALBANIAN CATHOLIC WOMAN OF SHKODRA.

The Tosks generally use the Greek language for written communications. The native folklore and poetry of the Albanians can scarcely compare with that of the neighboring nations in originality and beauty. The earliest printed works in Albania are those of the Catholic missionaries. The most noteworthy Albanian writer is Girolamo di Rada (died 1815), a poet, philologist and collector of folklore."

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* describes the race thus:

"The native Albanian is of middle stature; his face is oval, with high cheek-bones; his neck long; his chest full and broad. His air is erect and majestic to a degree which never fails to strike the traveler. He holds in utter contempt that dissimulation which is characteristic of the Greek, and, unlike the Turk, he is gay, lively, and active. Averse, however, to regular industry, his whole delight is in arms and plunder. He goes constantly armed; and there are few Albanians who have not, in the prime of their life, belonged to some of the numerous bands of robbers who infest the mountains of their native country, of Thessaly, and of Macedonia. This occupa-



ALBANIANS IN THEIR TYPICAL NATIONAL COSTUME.

tion carries with it no disgrace: it is common for the Albanian to mention circumstances which occurred 'when he was a robber.'

"This fierce and haughty race display a greater degree of contempt for the female sex than is usual even among the most barbarous nations. The females are literally regarded as inferior animals, and treated accordingly; but in the country districts they are not confined or veiled, as is customary in Mohammedan countries.

"The national costume of the Albanians is handsome in appearance, and bears some resemblance to the Highland dress. It consists of a cotton shirt; a white woolen *fustanella* or kilt, which reaches to the knees; a jacket; a sash round the waist, in which pistols and a

yataghan are commonly carried; colored leggings; sandals; and a red cap, round which some twist a shawl or scarf.

"The chiefs and wealthy Albanians generally wear a jacket and vest of velvet, richly embroidered with gold, and metal greaves over their leggings which are usually made of fine scarlet cloth.

"The poorer classes, though picturesque in appearance, are extremely dirty in their habits, and seldom change their clothes. As



DISTINGUISHED ALBANIANS OF THE HOTTI TRIBE.

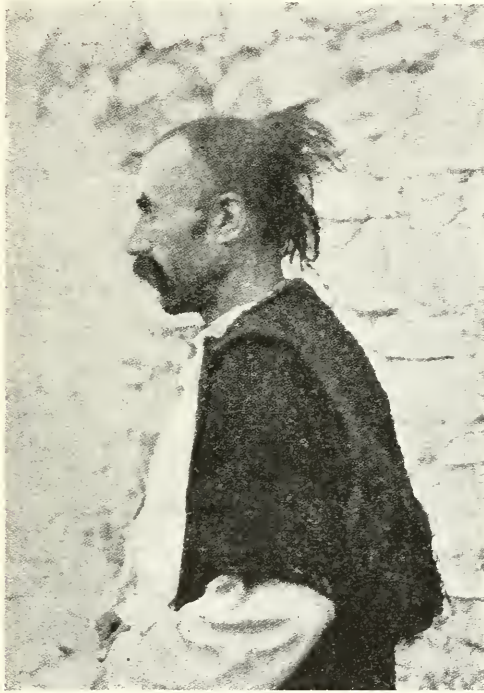
a protection from the weather, every Albanian has a *capote*, or rough shaggy mantle with a hood attached, and usually made of horse-hair stuff or coarse woollen cloth.

"The dress of the females is more various, and often fantastical. A singular custom prevails among the girls of stringing together the pieces of money which they have collected for their portion, and wearing them upon their heads. Some of them have their hair hang-

ing down in braids to a great length, loaded with this species of ornament."

One feature in the appearance of the Albanians which is frequently remarked by travelers is the tuft of hair on top of the head. There is a saying that the strong development of the hair on the crown is an indication of a bad or headstrong boy, and if there is any truth in this idea it decidedly shows in the Albanian race.

The Albanians have played an important part in the develop-



AN ALBANIAN OF KOMANA IN MALISIA.

Showing the typical tuft (*percen*) on the crown of the head.

ment of the destiny of Turkey. Being excitable and energetic they rush into action without plan or foresight. They are quickly moved by sentiment and yet when their resentment is aroused they do not forget. They are not opposed to the Turkish rule so long as it remains purely theoretical, but they resist all the methods by which a modern state maintains itself. They would not give up their arms, objected to paying taxes, would brook no police, would tolerate no censors, would not suffer their property to be entered at recorders'

offices and were even opposed to sending their children to school or to submit their quarrels to court. The old system of taking the law in their own hands, of stealing the cattle of others, of slaying the wayfarer, of blood brotherhood and blood revenge, is considered part of the inalienable right of the country; and it has been estimated that 24% of the entire male population on the average—in some parts a little less but in many considerably more, up to 40%—is ex-



ALBANIANS OF KIRI.



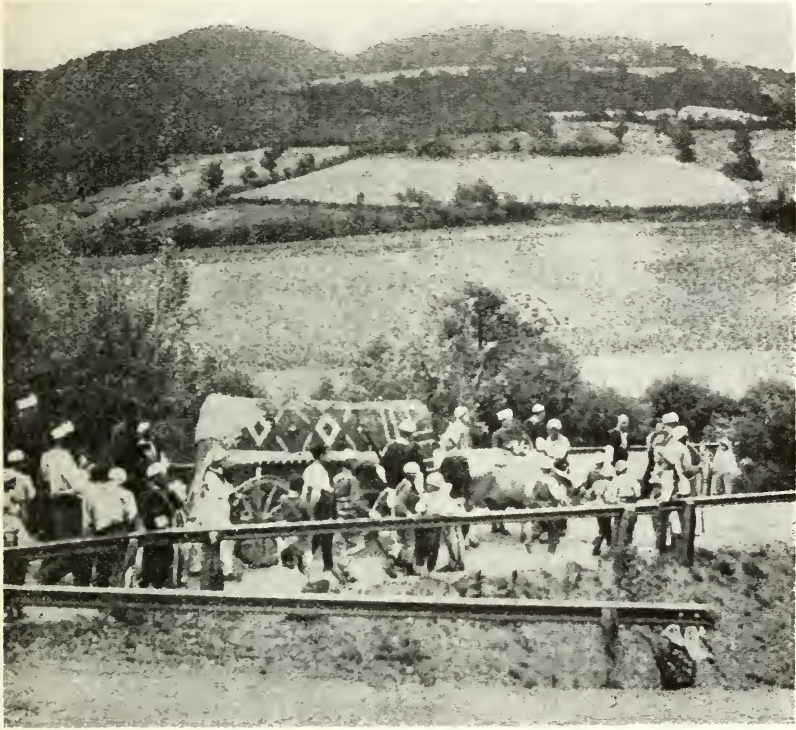
A VIRGIN OF THE HOTTI TRIBE

terminated by assassination, and no authority has so far succeeded in stopping this custom.

Child-betrothals are a frequent source of family feuds. Children are promised in marriage by the parents sometimes while still in the cradle, and if a girl refuses to fulfil the contract after she is grown, she cannot withdraw without provoking intense hostility between her whole family and that of the youth to whom she was betrothed. This can be satisfied only by the shedding of blood, and

the privilege of punishing her male relatives by assassination is considered quite as much a sacred duty as blood revenge.

The girl can escape this fate only by the formal declaration that she will never marry, and then by a special ceremony she turns a kind of worldly nun and is henceforward not considered a woman but a man. She dresses in man's clothes, takes up arms and no longer enjoys the woman's privilege of having her life spared in



A BRIDAL PROCESSION.

The cart contains the dowry, and the bride walks at its side.

family feuds. Now she may indulge in robbery in which case she is called *tsupp-dashia*, "robber-buck." She is called *virjin*, a word probably derived from the Latin *virgo* and may etymologically be the same as the English "virgin." She is regarded by men with respect and awe and receives the title *vrend*, which is probably a contraction of the Latin *veneranda*. But all respect for her person would cease if she were to break her vow and assert her womanhood, and if she becomes a mother her life is forfeit.

Such customs as this are more powerful than religion. All take part in them, and the ties of blood-brotherhood frequently unite Catholic or Greek divines with Mohammedans—rarely Catholics with Greek Christians.

A memorable event in the recent history of Albania occurred during the Greek insurrection against Turkey. At the beginning of the war the excitable Albanians sympathized with Greece and showed



CATHOLIC ALBANIANS ATTENDING MASS FULLY ARMED.

unmistakable willingness to make common cause with her against Turkey, and their assistance would have ensured the success of the rebellion. But the Greeks were too haughty, looking with contempt on the wild descendants of the Epirotes. They remembered the petty guerilla warfare between their own people and the rough mountaineers and refused the Albanian overtures. On October 5, 1821, the Greeks captured the city of Tripolizza and indiscriminately massacred the whole Turkish garrison, among them 3000 Albanians.

This cruel act was never forgotten and established a bitter hostility between Albania and Greece.

In recent times the powers of Europe—who in truly folklore fashion have always figured in the Albanian imagination as “the seven kings of Europe”—in the Berlin treaty of 1878 assigned portions of Albania to the new Balkan states, especially Montenegro and Servia—and this aroused Albanian patriotism. A popular movement spread rapidly over the whole country, and a meeting was called where under great enthusiasm a solemn declaration was formulated in which they swore to defend their own country against the inroads



ALBANIAN PEASANT WOMAN IN SCUTARI.

of foreign aggressors. The powers were obliged to enforce their decree by a naval demonstration before Dulcigno, and the Albanians were compelled to yield. At that time the Albanian patriots sought support in Constantinople where Sultan Abdul Hamid for a time favored his Albanian bodyguard and helped the Albanians to print books in their own language. Soon afterwards however the enemies of Albania gained the sultan's ear and the patriots were exiled.

Through these persecutions the national spirit grew stronger. Albanian periodicals were started, among them *Spresa* (“Hope”), issued at Bucharest, and Sami Bey Frasheri published a book bearing the title, “What was Albania, What is Albania and What is

Albania to be?" He and his two brothers—all three Mohammedans—cooperated with the Greek and Roman Albanians and found vigorous assistance among Italian friends who were especially helpful inasmuch as the schools they established were non-sectarian and of a liberal tendency. Albania played an important part in the reform of the Ottoman empire. The Young Turks, who were well acquainted with the Albanian character, began their propaganda in Albania. Through their instigation a national meeting was called at Ferisovitch in July 1908, and here their demands were formulated

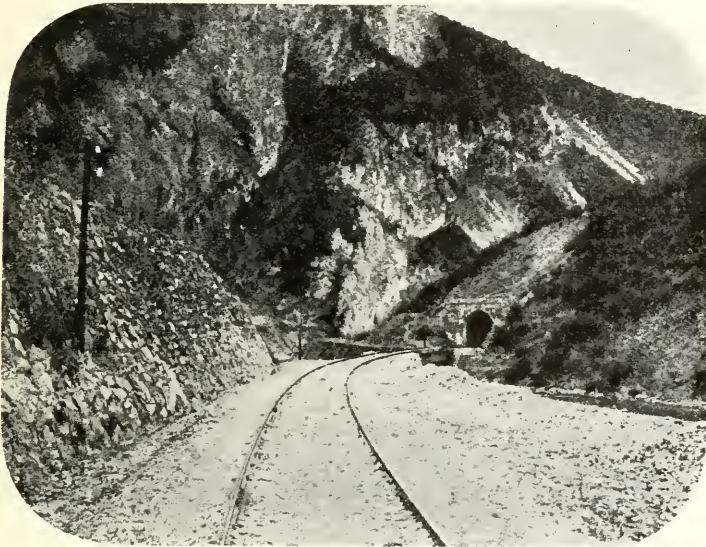


FRANCISCANS, JESUITS AND LAY PRIESTS ON THE SHORES OF LAKE SCUTARI.

in a declaration known as "the Bessa of Ferisovitch." *Bessa* is an Albanian word denoting a sacred contract, an oath to keep the peace, a solemn vow to stand by a promise, and such agreements are concluded between hostile families after a feud, or designate any defensive or offensive alliance.

The Young Turk movement was successful, but would scarcely have been so without the assistance of the Albanians, who were thus induced to take the initiative, for they furnished the most vigorous part of the Turkish army. When the Young Turk government was firmly established the leaders of the movement intended to reform

the whole empire on a modern basis as a civilized state. They met resistance in several portions of the empire, and especially in Arabia and Albania where the people were aroused to indignation. Turkish officers were sent there who demanded the disarmament of the people. Guns and other weapons were to be surrendered, taxes were to be levied and magistrates appointed. Instead of a free recruiting where volunteers might join the bodyguard of the sultan in Constantinople, a system of compulsory service was introduced, and the Albanians resented these innovations. This caused another commotion among the people, and again they met in Ferisovitch in the spring of 1910, where they swore to preserve their independence.



THE TUNNEL AT KATCHANIK.

The new Turkish government did not tolerate resistance. They sent an overwhelming detachment of troops equipped with all appliances of modern warfare, including Hotchkiss machine guns, and they succeeded in putting down the rebellion with great cruelty. Though the Albanians gained temporary advantage in their mountain fastnesses they could not make their resistance permanent, and their heavy losses forced them to submission, the result being the establishment of courts martial through which great numbers of Albanian chieftains were delivered to the gallows.

Having cut off a detachment of Turkish troops at Katchanik,

where the train that carried them into the mountains had passed through a tunnel, the Albanians gloried in their victory; but unfortunately a foreign railroad employee was in possession of a camera and the brave Albanians enjoyed having their pictures taken. However when the Turkish machine guns later got the best of the mountaineers and the hated Turkish rule was reestablished, these photographs served as evidence against the Albanian patriots so that many of them had to pay with their lives for their harmless vanity.

A complete and final victory of the Turkish government seemed assured and the task of civilizing Albania by rather barbarous methods seemed to be in the hands of the Young Turks. But something unexpected happened. Against the wishes of the great powers, Servia, Bulgaria and Montenegro began to wage against Turkey a war which has unexpectedly proved successful, and these new states have also decided to appropriate further portions of Albanian territory. Their invasion into Albania roused the indignation of Austria which, backed by Germany and Italy, looked upon it as a *casus belli*.

Encouraged by the support of Austria the Albanians proclaimed their independence at Durazzo on November 23, and are willing to defend it by a national uprising. Their political spokesman on this occasion was Ismail Kemal Bey. He is sixty years old and was in the service of the Ottoman empire as a Turkish governor, first when a young man in Constanza, a harbor town which has since been ceded to Roumania. Later on he was transferred to Tripoli, but being suspected of liberal tendencies, he was exiled under Abdul Hamid, after whose abdication he served in the Young Turk parliament as a member of the liberal party. He is especially fitted for his present prominent position by his extended foreign relations, especially in England.

The present outlook of the country is favorable owing to the interest which Austria takes in its independence, and it is to be hoped that the Albanians will establish order among themselves better than could be done by any foreign conquerors. The men now in the lead are foreign trained and understand the blessings of civilization while the common people who resent the encroachments of foreign authority would probably be willing to tolerate order that would be established by men of their own blood.

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN NASAREANS.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

IT is the merit of Dr. W. B. Smith to have called attention in his work on the pre-Christian Jesus (*Der vorchristliche Jesus*) to the pre-Christian Nasareans¹ of Epiphanius, whom he assumes to have been the same as the Nazoreans or Nazarenes of the New Testament, the first followers of Jesus.

Now what are the facts concerning these Nasareans?

Epiphanius in his works on heresies classifies them under several main heads. I. Pre-Christian heresies: (1) Those of the Greeks: (2) of the Jews; (3) of the Samaritans. II. The post-Christian heresies of Christianity.

Among the pre-Christian heresies of Judaism he places that of the Nasareans in proximity to the Hemerobaptists, "who practise daily washings in order to free themselves from every guilt," and the Osseans, called by him once Ossenes (*Anakephalaiosis* 134 B. ed. Dindorf), and once Esseans (*Ankyrotos*, 12), "who follow the Jewish law in everything but also use other writings besides the law and reject most of the prophets" (*Anakeph.* 134 B et Proemium. Panarii).

Like the Osseans, who lived on the east side of the Jordan in Iturea and Moabitis near the Dead Sea (*Panarion* XIX), the Nasareans also originated east of the Jordan in Gilead and Bashan (*Pan.* XVIII). Of their beliefs Epiphanius speaks in four places.

In *Anakeph.* 134 C he says: "The Nasareans (interpreted, 'those who have cast off the reins') forbid all flesh-eating; they do not partake of that in which there is life generally; previous to Moses and Joshua the son of Nun they make use of the holy names of the patriarchs in the Pentateuch and believe in them, I mean Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and those before them, as also Moses himself and Aaron and Joshua. But they teach that the writings of the Penta-

¹ *Νασαραῖτοι*.

teuch are not of Moses and affirm to have others besides these." The same passage is repeated in *Proem*.

In the *Epitome* he says: "Concerning Nasareans. These accept the patriarchs contained in the Pentateuch and Moses. That Moses received a law, they say. However, the law itself and the whole Pentateuch they do not accept, but believe that another law had been given him. They do not partake of that in which there is life, nor do they offer sacrifices. They say that the books have been falsified and that none of them took their origin from the fathers. 'Nasareans' is interpreted to mean 'Destroyers.'" With what Epiphanius connects his interpretation it is difficult to say. Perhaps with *nassar*,² "to saw, cut, divide"?

In *Panar.* XVIII he says: "The Nasareans are of Jewish race, have circumcision, observe the Sabbath and the same feasts, but they do not admit fate and astronomy [astronomy of course used here in the sense of astrology]. They accept the fathers in the Pentateuch from Adam to Moses, those glorious in the deeds of fearing God, I mean Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methusalah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Aaron, Moses and Joshua, the son of Nun. But the Pentateuch itself they do not accept; yet they confess Moses and believe that he received the law though not this one but another. Wherefore they observe everything of the Jews, being Jews, but they do not offer sacrifice, nor partake of that in which there is life, but it is considered unlawful with them to eat flesh or that they sacrifice. They say that these books are falsified and that nothing of them has originated from the fathers. This is the difference between the Nasareans and others, and the reproach against them is also evident not only in one point but in many." After this follows a refutation of the Nasareans regarding their rejection of the Pentateuch, of sacrifices and of meat-eating, but which does not interest us here.

Epiphanius mentions the sect not only, as we see, in the passage to which we will come later, adduced by Dr. Smith (*Panar.* XXIX. 6) to support his theory, but more fully in the places cited.

Epiphanius always writes *Nasaraioi* (in *Anakeph.* 134 C, *Nasaraioi*), in one place (*Panar.* XX) *Nasarenoi*, just as we have seen that he uses once *Ossenoi* and once *Essaioi*, but he clearly distinguishes the Nasareans from the Nazoreans of the New Testament, the first Christians. This is to be noticed, for while he is forced to make a clear distinction between the pre-Christian Jewish sect, on account of their diversity of opinion in weighty matters, and the

² נָסַר chald. נָסַר

orthodox Jews as also the first Christians, who likewise accepted the Old Testament fully as a divine revelation, he in his love for monastic life considers the Therapeutae of the *Via contemplativa*, ascribed to Philo, as Christians converted by Mark when preaching in Egypt, and classes them with the *Jessaioi*, though these are not a sect with him but simply another name for the followers of Jesus. After having shown in *Panar.* XXIX, 5 the difference between the word *Nazoraïos* and *Nazirciôs* (Nazirite), Epiphanius goes on to say in the next paragraph: "But they (the Nazoreans) did not call themselves *Nasaraïoi*, for the heresy of the Nasareans existed before Christ and did not know Christ. But all men called the Christians Nazoreans."

It is here where I charge Dr. Smith with having misled his readers by his inexact translation. He closes his extract from Epiphanius, composed of parts of §§ 1, 2 and 6 of *Panar.* XXIX and speaking of the first names of the Christians, with the translation: "But others called themselves *Nasaraïoi*." The rest of the quotation as above. This translation gives the impression that some Christians called themselves thus. But Epiphanius says nothing of the kind. He distinctly says: "But they (the Nazoreans) did not call themselves *Nasaraïoi*."

Dr. Smith must also have entirely overlooked the reason that Epiphanius does not say more in the chapter on the Nazoreans about the Nasareans. The fact is he had previously discussed the latter more fully in the separate chapter on them. He only mentions them again with the clear intent that they have nothing whatever to do with the Christian Nazoreans and must not be confounded with them. Ought not Dr. Smith to have consulted the previous descriptions of the Nasareans before making use of the short mention of them in the chapter on the Nazoreans in support of his theory?

* * *

Now what kind of people were the Nasareans?

I have two conjectures to make:

1. They may have been a remnant of an earlier stage of Hebrew religious development and civilization like the sect of the Rechabites in the Old Testament. These, belonging to the people of the Kenites, a member of which, Hobab, was a brother-in-law of Moses, had kept up their nomadic habits even to the times of Jeremiah long after the conquest of Canaan, in which they had joined with the Israelites. According to Jer. xxxv, they drank no wine, just as the Arabs had been averse to it even before Mohammed; they built no houses, sowed no seed, planted no vineyard, but lived in tents,

strictly following the commands of one Jonadab, a Rechabite.³ Very probably the Kenites and Rechabites claimed to follow an older law than that developed among the Hebrews since the conquest under the influence of the higher civilization of the conquered Canaanites. They could trace back their law to Moses, who was related by marriage to the Kenites and had been guided as law-giver by Jethro, a Kenite.

The Kenites and Rechabites kept up their nomadic habits not only in the south of Palestine where they first had settled, but even as far north as the lake of Merom, where they had offshoots—this not far west from Gilead and Bashan, where the Nasareans arose, according to Epiphanius. The Nasareans, probably like the Rechabites, claimed to have the genuine Mosaic law, declaring the later law as developed in the Pentateuch a falsification. Living beyond the Jordan they could more easily keep their old organizations and customs intact. There the invading Israelitish tribes had first settled, and those tribes remaining there had never kept up a very close connection with their brothers across the Jordan anyhow. (Passages referring to the Kenites besides that of Jeremiah are Judg. i. 16; iv. 11; 2 Kings x. 15; 1 Chron. ii. 55.) By the way, it is interesting to see that one of the most uncompromising zealots against Canaanitish cults, Elijah, was a sojourner of Gilead (the Septuagint reads: "of Thisbe, Gilead"), while Jonadab, a Rechabite, assists Jehu in his treacherous butchery of the worshipers of Baal. Furthermore Elijah would have scorned the command of Deuteronomy to worship Yahveh only in one place as being Mosaic. The fact stands out that the legislation as represented in the Pentateuch was never accepted during Hebrew history by all Israelites, though they were one in the worship of the national Yahveh, of which in recent years we again have received a proof through the discoveries in Elephantine,⁴ and the Nasareans of Epiphanius seem to have belonged to those protesting against the Pentateuch.

2. This sect in rejecting sacrifices and flesh-eating must have had many things in common with some of the Essenes and other oriental gnostic sects. The vegetarian life was practised for religious reasons at the time of Christ by more Jews than we think. Witness the ascetic Banus, of whom Josephus tells in his life that he stayed with him three years, "who used no other clothing than what grew upon trees and had no other food than what grew of its own accord;"

³ Compare the opposition to the acceptance of a higher civilization among North American Indians and other peoples, as being a great sin against the simpler life and laws of the forefathers.

⁴ Compare "The Jahu Temple in Elephantine," *Open Court*, June, 1908.

and also those members of Christian circles, of whom Paul speaks in the epistles to the Romans and Colossians, who had scruples about the use of meat and certain foods. Whether the Nasareans brought their rejection of sacrifices and flesh-eating in connection with the revelation they laid claim to, Epiphanius does not say; these things may have been later developed. Still their simpler customs both as regards religious ritual and the mode of living in contrast to a more developed elaborate worship as at Jerusalem and the luxuries of civilization may have been, in part at least, survivals from an earlier stage.

What was the meaning of the name "Nasareans"? Here we can only conjecture again. Perhaps it had a very natural origin. The Old Testament often makes a distinction between fenced cities and the solitary "towers of watchers" (*migdal nošrim*) in the country and desert for watching herds and products of husbandry.⁵ The Nasareans, probably from living a pastoral and country life (Gilead and Bashan were preeminently pastoral countries) may have originally taken their name from their natural occupation (*našar*, "to watch, protect"). The original meaning may have later taken a transferred meaning. This verb is often used in the Old Testament for observing the covenant and commands of God (Deut. xxxiii. 9; Ps. xxv. 10; cv. 45). The Nasareans claimed to observe the genuine law of Moses, just as the Rechabites, as we are told in Jeremiah xxxv, observed strictly the commands of their forefather Jonadab. The word used for "observe" in that chapter is *shamar* and has exactly the same meaning, both original and transferred, as *našar*. The Talmud applies the latter verb in the same sense as *shamar* to the Rechabites. Reading in 1 Chron. iv. 23 *nošrim* instead of *jošrim* (potters), the version from which the English translation is taken, "who dwelt in the plantations and corrals of the king," and identifying these *nošrim* with the Rechabites, it says: "They were so called because they observed (*she našeru*) the commandment of their father" (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Rechabites").

The Greek form *Nasaraioi* may have been from a later Hebrew form *našaraim*, just as we have the *Amoraim* (from *amar*, "speak,") "interpreters," and *Tanaim* (*tana*, "repeat,") "teachers," of the Talmud. All this is conjecture, but I deem as well founded, if not better, than the conjecture of Professor Smith, who on the simple similarity of sound of *Nasaraioi* and *Nazaraioi* builds the theory

⁵ Compare 2 Kings xvii. 9; xviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; compare also "the herd tower" (*migdal eder*) Gen. xxxv. 21.

that they were identical, without in the least taking into consideration the facts given of the Nasareans, which place them in an entirely different category from the Jewish Nazoreans, who accepted the whole Jewish dispensation as laid down in the Old Testament.

NOTE BY DR. SMITH.

At the time of publication of the essay on the "Meaning of the Epithet Nazorean" and still later, at the publication of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (1906) the accepted text of the Epiphanian passage was this:

Ἄλλοι δὲ Νασσαραῖους ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν.

Of this the only possible translation is the one that is so sharply criticized above, namely, "But others called themselves Nasareans," or as the learned Jesuit Petavius renders it in Migne's Patrology, XLI, 400, "Sed alii Nazaræos seipsos appellant." In a footnote on the same page we read: "γρ. Ἄλλ' οὐ δὲ Νασσαραῖους." This text would of course be translated, "But they did not call themselves Nasoreans." This secondary text is not disregarded in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, but is mentioned, on page 228, as probably a purposeful modification of the original. Since 1906, and engendered by the aforementioned essay, a dense growth of controversial literature has sprung up around this Epiphanian passage (particularly the continuation, "For the heresy of the Nasarees was before Christ and knew not Christ"), and the text-critical question has been minutely studied, but not settled, for the opinions of scholars seem almost evenly and hopelessly divided as to which form is the older. In the second edition of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* I have touched again upon the matter and have shown both there and elsewhere that the text-question is rather curious than important (and in this judgment some of the highest German authorities concur), seeing that the main fact is the *pre-Christian existence of the Nasarees*. It matters little that Epiphanius in his "tremendous zeal for orthodoxy" (Case) should strive hard to make a distinction without a difference. All this I have set forth so fully and so repeatedly as to make further elaboration superfluous. It is enough to remark that in October, 1911, a learned and determined opponent, Professor Bousset, on the first page of the *Theologische Rundschau*, rejecting Wernle's appeal to the secondary text (ἀλλ' οὐ), declared that "all theological attempts thus far [to explain away the Epiphanian testimony] must be accounted failures." When something new is brought forward, I shall be glad to reopen the discussion, but not sooner.

January 12, 1913.

WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

THE CICADA AN EMBLEM OF IMMORTALITY IN CHINA.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN comment on the significance of the praying mantis and its prey, the cicada, as described by Dr. Berthold Laufer in the January number of *The Open Court*, we may add a few remarks on burial objects in China, among which the cicada made of jade is most popular among the relics of the Han period. These objects are commonly called tongue amulets because they are placed upon the tongue of the dead, as mentioned by Dr. Laufer in his book entitled *Jade, A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*.

Jade emblems of this kind are called in Chinese *Han yü*, which means a jade like that of the time of the Han dynasty. The term has been wrongly translated by Dr. Bushell "tomb-jade," but the word *Han* refers simply to the age in which this particular kind of jade, carved or uncarved, was used and has nothing to do with the word *han*, "to place in the mouth."

These jade objects have unquestionably a symbolic meaning, and appear to have been given to the dead for the sake of protecting them against evil influences. The jade cicadas are of a size which would fit into the mouth and are made to cover the tongue. As jade is expensive, it is natural that only rich people can indulge in such amulets. Dr. Laufer says:

"In the days of the Chou dynasty, jade was taken internally as food. 'When the emperor purifies himself by abstinence, the chief in charge of the jade works (*yü fu*) prepares for him the jade which he is obliged to eat,' says the *Chou li* (Biot, Vol. I, p. 125). Jade, add the commentaries to this passage, is the essence of the purity of the male principle, the emperor partakes of it to correct or counteract the water which he drinks, since water belongs to the female principle; the emperor fasts and purifies himself before

communicating with the spirits; he must take the pure extract of jade; it is dissolved that he may eat it. And in another passage of the *Chou li* (Biot, Vol. I, p. 492) we read that jade is pounded and mixed with rice to be administered as food to the corpse of an emperor before burial (*tsêng yü*).

"In later Taoism, we meet the belief highly developed that jade is the food of spirits and tends to secure immortality (De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Vol. I, pp. 271-273; Vol. II, p. 395). In the Han period a belief was dominant in a revival of the corpse, and the hill-censers and hill-jars of Han pottery interred with the dead have taught us how deep the longing for immortality was among the people of that age. Two ideas are, therefore, prominent in the burial of certain jade ornaments with the corpse during the Chou and Han periods,—the preservation of the body by the effect of the qualities inherent in jade, and the hope of a resurrection prompted by this measure.

"The idea of jade being apt to prolong life seems to have originated at the same time in connection with the notions and practices of alchemy then coming into existence. A marvelous kind of jade is called *yü ying*, 'the perfection of jade.' It is represented among 'the wonderful objects of good omen' (*fu jui*)—there are twenty-two altogether—on the bas-reliefs of Wu-liang of the Han period in Shan-tung where it is pictured as a plain rectangular slab accompanied by the inscription, 'The perfection of jade will appear, when the five virtues are cultivated.'¹ Vessels, it was supposed, could be made of this supernatural substance; in B. C. 163, a jade cup of this kind was discovered on which the words were engraved, 'May the sovereign of men have his longevity prolonged!' The then reigning Emperor Wên took this joyful event as a suitable occasion to choose a new motto for the period of his reign, and to count this year as the first of a new era, celebrated with a banquet throughout the empire.²

"It was believed that immortality could be obtained by eating from bowls made of this kind of jade. Thus the phrase, 'to eat in the perfection of jade' came to assume the meaning 'to obtain eternal life.' In the form of a wish, it appears in prayers cast as inscriptions on certain metal mirrors of the Han period connected with the worship of Mount T'ai in Shan-tung (Chavannes, *Le T'ai Chan*, p. 425)....

"Princes followed the observance of sending pieces of jade to

¹ Compare Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine*, p. 34.

² Chavannes, *Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. II, p. 481.

be placed in the mouth of their deceased friends as the last honor to be rendered. Special messengers were entrusted with this token who fulfilled their task as described in the *Li ki* (*Tsa ki* II, 31) as follows: 'The messenger with the mouth-jade holding a jade ring (*pi*) announced his message in these words, "My humble prince has sent me [giving his name] with the mouth-jade." The assistant [to the son of the deceased] went into the house to report, and said in coming out, "Our bereaved master [giving his name] is awaiting you." The bearer of the jade entered, ascended into the hall and gave his message; the son bowed to him [as sign of thanks] and touched the ground with his forehead [as sign of grief and mourning]. The bearer, kneeling, deposited the jade south-east of the coffin on a reed mat, or after interment, on a rush mat. He then descended and returned to his place. An adjutant in court-dress, but still wearing the shoes of mourning, ascended the hall by the steps on the western side, and kneeling, his face turned to the west, he took the jade ring. Then he descended the same western steps, going in an eastward direction.' Thus the mouth-jade was presented according to rules of strict formality, and it is obvious from this passage that it could be presented even after the funeral had taken place without serving its purpose proper, and that even then the mourner was obliged to accept it; he doubtless kept it, but in what way, and to what end, is unknown....

"A curious instance of an alleged or allegorical use of the mouth-jade in the case of live persons is narrated in the history of the kingdom of Wu, when King Fu Ch'ai (B. C. 494-472) joined the duke of Lu to attack the principality of Ts'i. At the point of giving battle, General Kung-sun Hia ordered his soldiers to chant funeral songs; another general requested his men to put into their mouths pieces of jade as used for corpses, while still another bade his men carry a rope eight feet long to fetter the soldiers of Wu (A. Tschepe, *Histoire du royaume de Ou*, p. 121). It can hardly be surmised that the second clause is to be taken in its real sense, for it would be difficult to see how a band of soldiers could be provided with these jade pieces at a moment's notice just before going to battle, unless we should suppose it a custom that every man should carry with him his mouth-jade, which is not very probable, and the general could hardly expect that a man while holding a piece of jade on his tongue could do efficient fighting. I therefore understand the sentence in a figurative sense meaning to say that the battle will be so fierce that every one should be prepared for death.

"The mortuary amulets in our collection described on the fol-

lowing pages were procured in Si-ngan fu from the private collection of a well-known Chinese scholar and archeologist who has been engaged for many years in antiquarian researches with great success. For the definition of these objects, I entirely depend on his explanations which agree with the general opinions upheld in Si-ngan fu. It will be seen that there is not only the tongue-amulet mentioned in the *Chou li*, but a whole series of jade amulets serving also for the preservation of other parts of the body. The underlying idea evidently was to close up all apertures of the body by means of jade, the essence of the *yang* element which was to triumph over the destructive underground agencies of the *yin* element, and it is assumed that this full equipment of the body was developed in the Han period. The characteristics of the pieces point to the same epoch. This is the most complete collection of this kind on record, and most of these types have not yet been described by Chinese archeologists.

"The archeological evidence quite agrees with the literary researches of De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Vol. I, pp. 271 *et. seq.*) The most important quotation for our purpose is that by Ko Hung: 'If there is gold and jade in the nine apertures of the corpse, it will preserve the body from putrefaction.' And T'ao Hung-King of the fifth century says: 'When on opening an ancient grave the corpse looks as if alive, then there is inside of the body a large quantity of gold and jade. According to the regulations of the Han dynasty, princes and lords were buried in clothes adorned with pearls, and with boxes of jade, for the purpose of preserving the body from decay.' The stuffing of the corpse with jade took the place of embalming, except that it did not have the same effect. In the case of the Han Emperor Wu (B. C. 140-87), the jade boxes mentioned had their lids carved with figures of dragons, phenixes and tortoise-dragons (*loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 401).

"Among the personal amulets worn by the corpse, those to be placed on the tongue are most important and frequently spoken of in the ancient texts. As all these amulets are imitative of bodily forms, those for the tongue are shaped in the outline of this organ. There are four types of them, the one plain, almost geometrically constructed, the other of a realistic design carved into the figure of a cicada, but at the same time preserving the shape of a tongue. A series of nine pieces is illustrated on the adjoined plate in natural size, the first four being of the plain tongue-shaped type. The first three are made of the same ivory-colored material, probably marble, which is decomposed and showing a rough surface in 1 and

3, while the original fine polish is preserved in 2. The substance of 3 has withered away so much that the ornamentation has disappeared and deep holes are eaten into the surfaces. The lines engraved on 1 and 2 explain themselves by serving the purpose of marking the parts of the tongue. In all these pieces, the medial portion is high and gradually sloping down towards the edges. In No. 1 the under surface is flat, and the tip is slightly turned upward. In No. 2, the lower side is shaped in the same manner as the upper one, but laid out with a different design of lines.

"The piece in No. 4 is of a uniformly pure milk-white jade, the two dark lines showing in the photograph being yellow in color. Rounded over the upper surface, it consists of two slanting portions on its lower side with a short incision cut horizontally into the medial line, in the same way as will be seen in No. 8.

"Numbers 5-9 show five variations of the cicada type, that in 5 being the most realistic, those in 8 and 9 being in an advanced stage of conventionalization. In No. 5*a*, the two wings and the body are well designed; 5*b* displays the lower face of the same specimen. All of this type have the two faces ornamented differently. The hardened earth incrustations which have penetrated into No. 6 will be recognized in the illustration. Both 5 and 6 are of grayish jade, and of excellent workmanship. No. 7 is remarkable for its size, its color, and its elegant technique. The color of the jade is black in the two wings and the right upper portion, and dark-gray in the central and upper part. In this, as in so many other cases, we have occasion to admire the ingenuity and color sense of the artist in carving the jade block in such a way that the colors were appropriately distributed, either to an artistic end, or as here, to lend an object its real colors, or realism of color and a color of realism. No. 8 is the smallest and plainest of this type which I know, and not ornamental on the obverse; it is of lustrous white jade with a slight greenish tinge. In the two slanting sides, it agrees with the plain tongue-shaped type, but the style of carving shows that here also the figure of the cicada is intended. No. 9 shows the specimen on its lower face which is of grayish jade, but with a very peculiar chocolate-brown portion in the upper end with a narrow bluish stripe below it. On the upper side, the two wings of the insect are brought out by lines engraved, as in the other specimens. Only two of them are provided with a contrivance by which they can be fastened. That in No. 5 has two small holes about 2mm. in length drilled in the upper edge; they communicate in the interior and thus allow the



1
4
7

2
5a
5b

3
6
8 9

TONGUE AMULETS FOR THE DEAD IN THE SHAPE OF CICADAS.

passage of a wire or cord. The object in No. 6 is provided with a small perforated rounded handle."

Dr. Laufer adds: "Why the cicada was chosen for this amulet, seems not to be known. This idea may be connected with the *memento mori* brought out by the figures of a cicada and mantis on the Han jade buckles."

This explanation seems to us forced, and we are reluctant to accept it, because we can offer another interpretation which is more probable and is suggested by the ancient Taoist rite to procure an elixir of life. If we consider that all lasting substances were deemed in the mystical notions of the Taoist sages a proper food of immortality, it is evident that these mixtures were taken as a kind of ambrosia, a food to procure immortality, and one of the most important ingredients among them was jade.

Jade was pulverized and eaten, or was mixed with water and taken as a drink. The idea also prevailed that the Taoist sages, through breathing exercises within their own bodies, could develop a new immortal personality which grew as in a cocoon after the fashion of the cicada, and it was thought that the body of the sage would burst open and set the child at liberty. This child represented the new soul of the sage, and when set at liberty it left the body just as the cicada would leave the shell of the cocoon. The ancient Greeks cherished the same idea and represented the *psyche* as the butterfly which would rise to new life after the caterpillar had ripened into a chrysalis and sprung its own shell leaving behind the empty cocoon at the moment of liberation.

Accordingly what would be more appropriate in Chinese symbolism than to place in the mouth of the dead a piece of jade to ensure the everlastingness of the soul? That this piece of jade was formed in the shape of a cicada would be just as appropriate as that the butterfly would be to the Greeks a symbol of the immortality of the soul. Nay, we may be sure that the Chinese really believed in it, and had the confidence of the effectiveness of a cicada placed within the body of the dead.

It seems to me that this explanation agrees better with Chinese traditions than the general idea of a *memento mori*, for the reason that the cicada was the victim of the mantis, or that it would remind us of mortality and of the fate that will overtake every man. It stands to reason that on the contrary the cicada was believed to be an effective means to escape the decay of death and to insure to the dead life everlasting.

HERDER AS FAUST.

BY GÜNTHER JACOBY.

[In a former number of *The Open Court* (December, 1912) we published a brief review of Dr. Günther Jacoby's book *Herder als Faust*. As an indication of the care and detail with which Dr. Jacoby has worked out his thesis we here offer a free and somewhat condensed translation of a few passages representative of his position and the comparisons he has drawn. The two paragraphs from Goethe's Autobiography are quoted from Oxenford's translation, and the many quotations from Faust are taken from Bayard Taylor with one or two slight changes when the more literal rendering of a term seemed necessary to bring out Dr. Jacoby's emphasis of identity between expressions of Herder and Goethe.—Ed.]

FAUST is only one instance of the far-reaching influence of Herder upon Goethe, but it is an instance in a remarkable sense, for there is no other work of Goethe's which has Herder himself as the subject and in which the evidence of Herder's influence can be more easily traced step by step. We may regard Faust as the combination of the most varied influences of Herder upon Goethe at the beginning of the seventies of the eighteenth century, but it is noteworthy that under the constructive power of Goethe's imagination these influences attained a depth and beauty which they did not possess in Herder himself.

That Goethe could after all represent the experiences of Herder more beautifully and more profoundly than Herder himself, is indeed wonderful and can be perfectly understood only when we realize how powerfully Herder's influence affected and stirred Goethe's inmost being just at the time when he was starting upon Faust; and how just at this time Goethe strove to imitate and recast in himself the nature of Herder. In Faust Goethe has represented the figure of Herder as the prototype of the truest and noblest humanity. He did not have in mind the pettiness of Herder with his many errors and weaknesses, but rather what was great and superhuman in him, the image of the saint and priest which had developed

for Goethe out of his peculiar, even unique, relation to Herder at the time of their first meeting in Strassburg and in the years immediately following. Faust is not the Herder whom we know from the traditional biographies of the nineteenth century, but he represents the picture of Herder which the young Goethe had drawn for himself from direct contact with him and in the spirit of the highest veneration. (Pages 3-4.)

In spite of opposed views based upon the fact that Goethe is known to have utilized many sources in his masterpiece, the present book maintains that Herder is Goethe's Faust and, what is more, the Faust of the first part up to the scene in Auerbach's cellar.

Let the reader for a moment restrain his inclination to reject the theory *a priori*, and observe that there is an essential difference between my statement, "Herder is Faust," and that Herder material is contained in Faust. To say that Herder material is contained in Faust means that words and thoughts of Herder's are taken over into the drama of Faust. On the other hand to say that Herder is Faust means that not only words and thoughts but Faust's external and internal experiences are those of Herder. Only by the fact that Herder is Faust as a man does the large number of positive agreements become intelligible. (3-5.)

Goethe himself writes of the days they spent together in Strassburg:

"Since his conversations were at all times important, whether he asked, answered, or communicated his opinions in any other manner, he could not but advance me daily, nay, hourly, to new views. At Leipsic I had accustomed myself to a narrow and circumscribed existence, and my general knowledge of German literature could not be extended by my situation in Frankfort; nay, those mystico-religious chemical occupations had led me into obscure regions, and what had been passing for some years back in the wide literary world had, for the most part, remained unknown to me. Now I was at once made acquainted by Herder with the new aspiration and all the tendencies which it seemed to be taking. . . . What an agitation there must have been in such a mind, what a fermentation there must have been in such a nature, can neither be conceived nor described. But great was certainly the concealed effort, as will be easily admitted when one reflects for how many years afterwards, and how much, he has accomplished and produced."

From such expressions we can well understand that at the time of the Strassburg acquaintance of the two poets Herder exerted a

powerful influence on the figure of Faust which was then just taking form. (19.)

We will be able to estimate in detail the different points in which Herder's influence is shown in Faust by an extensive comparison of that drama with Herder's writings in the sixties and seventies. But Goethe himself furnishes an important piece of evidence for their variety when he tells us that at that time in Strassburg all Herder's later works existed in him potentially as a germ, for no one knew better than Goethe that the later activities of Herder were in no wise limited to literature and its history. Goethe writes:

"As to the fulness of those few weeks during which we lived together, I can well say, that all which Herder has since gradually produced was then announced in the germ, and that I thereby fell into the fortunate condition that I could complete, attach to something higher, and expand all that I had hitherto thought, learned, and made my own."

In preparation for his essay on the origin of language Herder busied himself with naturalistic and philosophical questions. For a long time he had been interested in the questions of philosophy especially with reference to scientific theory. This is the first point in which the comparison of Faust with the writings of Herder can give satisfactory results. (22.)

Goethe's unrestricted love and devoted veneration for Herder, his consciousness of Herder's intellectual superiority and the recognition of the educative blessing which had fallen upon him through their acquaintance, is the fundamental tone noticeable in all his letters to Herder after the latter's departure from Strassburg: "Continue to be fond of me," he writes in the summer of 1771, "and it will always be only an *officium*, not a *beneficium*; for you feel how fond I am of you." And yet more intimately and more touchingly he writes in the same manner: "I shall not let you go, I shall not let you. Jacob struggled with the angel of the Lord, and must I injure myself in doing so?" Yes, veneration to the highest degree; he does not know whether he can transform a marveling admiration as one of the worshipers of Herder's exalted figure into the intimate appreciative communion of a friend on an equality with him; "whether I can soar above the worship of the idol which Plato painted and gilded and to which Xenophon offered incense to the true religion in which instead of a saint a great man appeared, whom I can press to my bosom in an ecstasy of love, and cry, 'My friend and my brother!' And to dare to say that confidently to a great man! Might I for one day and one night be Alcibiades and then I

fain would die." Continuing directly: "A few days ago I embraced you with a full heart as if I saw you once again and heard your voice." (29-30.)

Goethe's letters to Herder are so very valuable to us in this connection because they not only reflect Goethe's friendship for Herder, but they bear witness that this friendship was so *innig*, so rooted in the very depths of his whole existence, that his own being and the growth of his mind at this time can only be understood in terms of his friendship for Herder.

It may be said that this fact is of such fundamental significance for our understanding of Goethe and Herder's relation to Faust, that it can not be presented impressively enough. Only from this fact can we properly understand that in the first part of Faust Goethe has erected a memorial to Herder.

The second letter of the summer of 1771 is one of the most important evidences of the kind of relation between them. At this time it is not Goethe who is the great man of the two, but Herder. Nevertheless Goethe knowing himself to be the lesser of the two friends struggles for his own valuation, for a modest radiance in the same sunlight as Herder. He writes to Herder: "Apollo Belvidere, why show yourself to us in your nudity so that we must be ashamed of our own! A Spanish costume and make-up! Herder, Herder stay to me what you are to me. If I am destined to be your planet I will be so willingly and faithfully. A friendly moon to the earth. But feel sure that I would rather be Mercury, the last, the smallest among seven who revolve with you about the same sun, than to be the first among five revolving around Saturn."

And a very similar spirit is shown in the conclusion of that letter in which Goethe thinks of Herder as a saint and himself as Alcibiades. Here Goethe writes: "And now, right reverend priest, do not forget in the service of the altar the discipline of thy acolytes whose imagination naturally covets thy priestly vestments, but whose power in the position of *adjunctus* and verger unfortunately does not for the most part come up to the *non plus ultra*. Let my conclusion be the conclusion of Socrates as Plato gives it in his Apology: 'And if they pretend to be something when they are really nothing, then reprove them for not caring about that for which they ought to care, and thinking they are something when they are really nothing. And if you do this I will have received justice at your hands.'"

It is remarkable that Herder seems to have occupied a very similar priestly position previously in his youth at Riga. He relates

that there he was "adored by my friends and a number of youths who considered me their Christ." (32-33.)

* * *

In Strassburg Herder was filled with a Faustlike impulse to get away from the student's cell out into the active struggle and life of the world.

For proof of this assertion I will cite a passage from the diary of Herder's travels which seems to me remarkable because he not only appears as the Faust of the first part, but at the same time foreshadows the Faust of the second part. Surfeited with fruitless knowledge the Faust of the first part rushes through a life of love and pleasure, the Faust of the second part pushes forward to efficient political and industrial activity. Surfeited with fruitless knowledge Herder yearns for the joys of life and the pleasures of the world, for efficient activity in politics and industry. The whole diary is full of this.

In one passage Herder writes, "Livonia, thou province of barbarism and luxury, of uncertainty, of limited taste, of freedom and of slavery, how much might be done in thee! Might be done to put an end to barbarism, to uproot ignorance, to disseminate civilization and freedom, to become a second Zwingli, Calvin and Luther of this province! Can I do this? Have I the aptitude, the opportunity and talents for it? What must I do to accomplish this? What must I destroy? I still ask. I must give up useless criticism and dead researches; must raise myself above controversies and the rewards of books, must consecrate myself to the service and development of the living world, must win the confidence of the administration, the government and court, must travel through France, England, Italy and Germany to this end—arouse in myself noble ideals and great purposes, adjust myself to my age and acquire the spirit of law-giving, of commerce and of police, dare to look into everything from the points of view of politics, government and finance, not lay myself open to new attacks and to rectify former ones as soon and as well as possible, to meditate day and night upon becoming this genius of Livonia, to learn to know it dead or alive, to conceive and to undertake every practical thing in order to accustom myself to prevail upon the world, the nobility and the people to be on my side—noble youth! Does all this slumber in thee?" The longing for foreign lands is like Faust:

"Yea, if a magic mantle once were mine,
To waft me o'er the world at pleasure,
I would not for the costliest stores of treasure—
Not for a monarch's robe—the gift resign."

The motive of this wish is the same in both Goethe's *Faust* and Herder, namely the longing to leave the study to fare forth "to new and varied being."

All of Herder's ideal slumbered in Goethe's *Faust*; yes, to carry this out, is the motive of the entire tragedy, especially its second part. Like Herder, *Faust* is led from fruitless science to active life among the people and for the state; he rises above rewards of books, useless criticisms and dead researches, etc. He becomes the genius of a coastland as Herder of the Russian coastland Livonia. In a word, Goethe's *Faust* fulfils the great task which Herder had set for his own life at the time when he came in contact with Goethe at Strassburg.

Let us consider that Goethe's *Faust* originated in Strassburg under the first powerful impression of Herder's figure. Was there to be no connection between the general conception of Herder's plans for life and the general conception of the plan of the drama *Faust* which originated just at this time? Is the correspondence which actually exists between these two conceptions to be laid to chance? Must they be accidental, even though Herder and Goethe at that time were in most intimate daily intercourse? It would be a most remarkable chance hard to understand from a scientific point of view.

It is true, to be sure, and must not be overlooked, that many details of the second part of *Faust* which we might refer to Herder on the basis of the confessions contained in the diary of his travels are originally contained in the old *Faust* legend and so might have been derived from this latter source and even in some particulars were certainly derived from the old legend. Nevertheless it may be said that this hardly touches the mooted Herder question in *Faust*. All connections of *Faust* with the old folktale relate merely to details and externalities. In the comparison of *Faust* with Herder, however, we do not deal with these but with the entire outline of the drama and with the profundity of its human and philosophical content.

This profundity was not contained in the tales of the old *Faust* legend. The theme of the drama intimately experienced and magnificently portrayed—that man does not find in the business of scholarship the satisfaction that he seeks, that he runs in vain against the limits of his humanity, that he finds compensation in the enjoyment of the world and in busy activity as the counselor of a state and the benefactor of its people—this theme was not outlined in the externalities of the *Faust* legend. It belonged to Goethe, and Goethe

experienced it as a poetical symbol of Herder, the man whom he revered with a passionate enthusiasm and who just at that time was experiencing the same profound and magnificent theme in his own life. Herder's plan for his future became for Goethe the plan of his drama of *Faust*.

Indeed if during their life together at Strassburg, Herder revealed to his younger friend—as is very probable—the impulses of his inner life, then we may also assume that Goethe has utilized this self-communication of Herder for the general outline of his plan of *Faust*. It would be obstinacy to try to explain the actual correspondence of the two conceptions in this case in any different way. But this means that for the general conception of the drama, *Faust* himself is none other than Herder. (52-55.)

* * *

The entire first part of the drama of *Faust* is pervaded by a peculiarly medieval Gothic tone, mysterious and full of presentiment, exalted and profound. It is the tone which Herder expressly calls his fundamental tone. It sounds like a depiction of *Faust* in large outlines when Herder writes of himself in the diary of his travels: "A feeling for sublimity is the crisis of my soul; to this is directed my love, my hate, my admiration, my dream of happiness and unhappiness, my resolve to live in the world, my expression, my style, my deportment, my physiognomy, my conversation, my occupation,—everything, including even my taste for speculation and for the seriousness of philosophy, of thought, including my dread of physiological discoveries and of new thoughts of the human soul, my half-intelligible, half melancholy style, my perspective—everything. My life is a passage through Gothic arches, or at least through an avenue of green shade. The outlook is always lofty and reverent; the entrance was a sort of dread; but it will be a very different kind of confusion when the path suddenly broadens out and I find myself in the open." (62.)

To conclude Herder's *Faust*-like descriptions of himself, one more feature will be recalled which unexpectedly comes into the present connection with the diary and once more discloses Goethe's *Faust* to be his friend Herder. This feature, like the fondness for fairy tales, spirits and witches, begins back in Herder's youth and also in *Faust*'s youth. It is by the recollection of his youth that *Faust* is drawn away from the goblet of poison:

"And yet, from childhood up familiar with the note,
To life it now renews the old allegiance.
Once heavenly love sent down a burning kiss

Upon my brow, in Sabbath silence holy;
 And, filled with mystic presage, chimed the church-bell slowly,
 And prayer dissolved me in a fervent bliss.
 A sweet uncomprehended yearning
 Drove forth my feet through woods and meadows free,
 And while a thousand tears were burning,
 I felt a world arise for me...."

It is remarkable that Herder, too, whose childhood was saturated with the spirit of ecclesiastical piety, made just this influence of his religious education responsible for his disposition at a later time; and it is almost more remarkable that like Faust he also lets the memory of those lonely walks in Mohrunge follow directly upon the religious impressions of his childhood—these walks which in other passages he describes exactly as Goethe's Faust describes his.

Of his feeling of harmony with the sublime, Herder writes: "Hence my early inclination for the clerical profession to which of course the local prejudice of my youth contributed greatly, but likewise also without doubt the impression of church and altar, chancel and pastoral eloquence, the official duties and deference for the clergy. Hence my first series of occupations, the dreams of my youth with regard to an aquatic world, my favorite pursuits in the garden, my solitary walks."

"The local prejudices of my youth"! Most significant for the meaning of the religious local prejudices of Herder in comparison with the childhood memories of Faust are the accounts given by Ludwig von Baczko of Herder's early youth. He writes: "The devout and gentle nature of his parents made an early impression on the lamented Herder.... His parents often found comfort in the Bible and hymn-book, recommending both earnestly to their son; many a touching and comforting passage from hymns, many a Biblical verse, were early impressed upon the vivid memory of the boy which was retentive and quick to grasp. Thus was aroused Herder's religious feeling, his attachment for simple songs and his frequent reading of the Bible."

Remarkably enough, it is exactly the religious songs and the reading of the Bible which in Faust are the indication of the Christian piety rooted in him also in childhood. This is not true only of Herder's favorite Easter song to which he has more than once given poetical treatment and which in Goethe restrains the despairing Faust from the last most fatal step:

"Why, here in dust, entice me with thy spell,
 Ye gentle, powerful sounds of heaven?...."

And yet, from childhood up familiar with the note,
To life it now renews the old allegiance."

But it is also true of Faust's Christian piety with reference to the Bible:

"We pine and thirst for revelation,
Which nowhere worthier is, more nobly sent,
Than here, in our New Testament.
I feel impelled its meaning to determine."

It is not an accident that Faust consults the Gospel of John. This again is a favorite subject of Herder, upon which he was working at the time of the inception of Faust.

On the other hand, the solitary walks of the boy. For them also Baczko writes of the boy Herder that he "gradually developed each of his splendid aptitudes for the beautiful, the good and the noble, took exceptional pleasure in arranging for a solitary walk around the Mohrung Lake and in the neighboring woods in the company of some cherished book." But even at that time the boy had betrayed "a tendency toward seriousness and melancholy."

In accord with this, Herder frequently tells us himself that he loved to imagine "a new world" in that lake and from his seriousness and childish melancholy we can understand the "thousands of hot tears" which may have been shed upon those solitary rambles. Faust is Herder when he recalls such solitary rambles in his childhood:

"A sweet, uncomprehended yearning,
Drove forth my feet through woods and meadows free,
And while a thousand tears were burning,
I felt a world arise for me."

These solitary rambles are extensively described by Herder in another passage and very much after the manner of Faust. "I began to think at an early age," he writes of his childhood years; "I early tore myself away from human society and saw a new world suspended in the water and went out in order to speak in solitude with the spring flowers and to enjoy myself in the creation of great plans, and for hours at a time I talked to myself. Time seemed short to me; I played, I read, I gathered flowers, simply in order to give myself up to my thoughts. What was great, inscrutable, difficult, attracted me. Easy things usually were given up as having too little attraction to hold me." That was the same world that Goethe's Faust felt arise in his childish heart under thousands of hot tears. (64-69.)

One remark about the words the Earth-spirit addressed to Faust in the scene known as the night excursion:

"Thus at Time's humming loom 'tis my hand prepares
The garment of life which the Deity wears!"

In Herder's poems also we repeatedly find the thought that the world is the "garment of life" of Deity, and together with this is the thought of a web in the garment. We find this in a small poem by Herder entitled "The World is God's Garment." The same thought appears more extended in another poem in which man is weaving diligently in his corner at the veil of Penelope-Minerva as it gorgeously gleams among boundless millions of stars; and finally in his poems on the creation with a surprising echo of the words of the Earth-spirit in Faust: "O splendor of God, thou beautiful robe of the earth, thou delicate garment in which everything is woven in aspiration for the higher life." Goethe's Earth-spirit prepares Deity's garment of life, the delicate garment of earth in which everything is woven in aspiration for the higher life. Herder's fundamental thought and expression are obviously related closely to the words of the Earth-spirit in Faust.

The relationship becomes more clear, however, when we go back to Herder's source of this mode of thought, to that ancient Oriental world in which Herder at the time of his stay in Strassburg was so diligently interested. He writes in the *Alttesten Urkunde* with regard to the Egyptian divinities Ptah and Neith that both names denote "one and the same thing, governor of the world, creator of the universe....the former breathes and creates; the latter weaves—what? The beautiful old, oft-misunderstood, picture of all mysteries, the great veil of nature, the splendid luminous form of all creatures. How fabrics, colors, and figures unite and move, break off and stop. How nature, the invisible mother, there weaves and rips, destroys and works, tapestry and veil, and a miraculous scene in which we gaze only at colors and do not understand nor decipher the plan or purpose. Here we see that primeval Penelope, the artist Minerva at Sais; her inscription is now plain enough;

"I am the all!
What was! What is! What is to be!
No mortal hath lifted my veil!
The sun was my child!"

This passage is very important in order to understand the appearance of the Earth-spirit in Faust. It closely resembles the Earth-spirit in being the governor of the world, the world creator, who

weaves the veil of nature. And as in Faust it is a "changing web" over "birth and grave"; Neith too "weaves and rips, destroys and makes again." Finally as Faust does not comprehend the Earth-spirit, so man can not understand or decipher the plan or purpose of Neith. "No mortal hath lifted my veil"!

Strikingly enough Faust makes use of exactly the same figurative expression of the same thought:

"Mysterious even in open day,
Nature retains her veil despite our clamors."

This is a fundamental thought not only of the first act of the play but also of its entire construction. In view of the Earth-spirit Faust stands before the veiled image of Sais, but Ptah and Neith are none other than the Egyptian god Thoth and the sign of the god Thoth is the sign of the macrocosm in the book of Nostradamus. (81-83.)

Finally in close connection with the night excursion in Faust we have Herder's poem "The Human Soul." Here just like Faust Herder relates how he had examined into many things upon the earth and many doors had opened to him, but how, still unsatisfied, he had longed to see behind the external drama of the world its true essence, its soul, divinity. Precisely this is the introduction and occasion for the appearance of the Earth-spirit in Faust:

"And thus the bitter task forego
Of saying things I do not know—
That I may detect the inmost force
Which binds the world and guides its course;
Its germs, productive powers explore
And rummage in empty words no more."

In this way Herder too is unsatisfied merely to know the external drama in the world, only the garment of God: "I fain would see deeper, would learn the abyss of his power, souls. More than worlds! The glory of divinity which called them into life. . . . To him the heavens sang the fullness of the harmony of nature, and unsatiated he stood, dreamed, and silently he breathed only in thee—in thee, O Soul." The mood is closely related to that of Faust between his glimpse of the sign of the macrocosm and the appearance of the Earth-spirit. Before the sign of Nostradamus, Faust also sang:

"When I the starry courses know
And nature's wise instruction seek."

He too in gazing at the heavens recognized

"How each the whole its substance gives,
Each in the other works and lives."

But like Herder he too is unsatisfied by this mere drama before the eyes and wishes "to see deeper, to learn the abyss, the souls," and enter into direct psychical contact with divinity.

"How grand a show! But, ah! a show alone.
Thee, boundless nature, how make thee my own?
Where you, ye breasts? Founts of all being, shining,
Whereon hang heaven's and earth's desire,
Whereto our withered hearts aspire."

In Herder in the same mood, in the submersion of self, of the soul, a *Gotteswink*, a beckoning of God reaches the thinker. From the depths of the grave he is enveloped in a holy shadow. He sees not the face of the image itself; he hears a voice and is seized by terror and a sense of his own smallness in the presence of the divine command. The similarity to the appearance of the Earth-spirit in Goethe's *Faust* is so unmistakable in this poem that we can scarcely call it accidental. Like *Faust* Herder despairs that by his knowledge he is kept at the surface of things and cannot enter into their depths, can not behold the abyss of divine power, the souls. Like *Faust* before the sign of Nostradamus he is not satisfied even with the view of the heavenly harmony of nature; like *Faust* he desires to see deeper, to know more than worlds—the glory of divinity which called them into life; and like *Faust* he stands in mystic self-submersion unsatiated. As in Goethe's *Faust* "God's beckoning" then seizes upon him and "dread" surrounds him; think of the mood of *Faust* before the sign of the Earth-spirit. The Earth-spirit of *Faust* appears to him. Like *Faust* he can not bear its face and with *Faust* must experience a feeling of shame that he is not called to lift the veil of the Deity behind which creative life is bringing to pass the creation of the most sacred things. A more convincing agreement could hardly be conceived. Up to the appearance of the Earth-spirit *Faust* is none other than Herder. (94-97.)

The Earth-spirit speaks words which were originally intended for the World-spirit. This is most clearly obvious from related passages in Herder. In sight of the Earth-spirit *Faust* stands before the veiled image of Minerva at Sais, and the Earth-spirit who is at work upon the Deity's garment of life is none other than his "weav-

ing and ripping, destroying and working" Penelope-Minerva herself, none other than Ptah and Neith who weave the great veil of nature. But the inscription of the artist Minerva at Sais does not read, "I am the Earth-spirit," but:

"The all am I!
What was, what is, what is to be!
No mortal hath lifted my veil!"

And like her also is the spirit who flings at the despairing Faust the words,

"Thou'rt like the spirit which thou comprehendest,
Not me!"

not the Earth-spirit but like the spirit of the image at Sais, the spirit of the All, the god Thoth whom Faust before the sign of the macrocosm is about to summon and for whom Minerva, Ptah and Neith are only different expressions. The words about making the garment of Deity and also the rejection of Faust were originally coined for the World-spirit instead of being intended for the Earth-spirit in the present connection. (151-152.)

* * *

In exactly Herder's sense Faust reproaches his assistant Wagner with the affectation of untenable grammatical niceties which arise when meaning and expression become separated:

"Yea, your discourses with their glittering show
Where ye for men twist shredded thought like paper,
Are unrefreshing as the winds that blow
The rustling leaves through chill autumnal vapor."

These words remind us of Herder not only in thought but in the language used. Indeed it is most remarkable in this connection that the unusual expression "twisted shreds" (*Schnitzel-Kräuseln*) is one of Herder's favorite phrases. Thus Herder in his "Literary Fragments" speaks of the "twisted play of fancy" (*Kräuselspiel der Phantasie*). Thus also he speaks in his "Provincial Papers to Preachers" (*Provinzial-Blätter an Prediger*), of the "twisted carvings" (*gekräuselten Schnitzwerke*) of dogmas, and in his "Earliest Records" of the "twisted chat of our eloquent philosophers" as if he intended to contribute a companion picture to the "twisted shreds" of Wagner's eloquence.

Most noteworthy in our connection, it seems to me, because important not only for linguistic similarity, is the following passage in Herder's account of Schlözer's "Universal History." This intro-

duction, Herder writes, is "a fine twisted skein entwined with many new writings, and therefore as sparkling but also as uncertain and weak as if wound out of another texture where it properly belonged." What Herder says here of Schlözer's treatment of history Faust says of Wagner's rhetoric. For the "twisted skein" that is so "sparkling" and the "twisted shreds" that are so "glittering," have much more in common than merely the similarity in sound. Both are sparkling and glittering because both are false, a twisted skein of others' writings, a misuse of others' words. (180-182.)

Faust likewise reproaches Wagner with the other comparison, that the "twisted" tinkling of words is as unpleasant as the winds that blow the rustling leaves through chill autumnal vapor. . . . It is noteworthy that Herder also in the seventies utilizes the comparison of dry autumn leaves in a similar connection. In his essay on "*Philosophie und Schwärmerci*" he says that the old masters "fondle their old once-classical style so thoughtlessly; what poor word-fanatics they are! Apothecaries of old fallen autumn leaves who do not see the forest bursting into bud and leaf"! (187.)

Herder's theory of the intrusion of false standards of judgment in history was in his mind closely connected with the theory he held on the nature of speech; namely that productions of the mind are nothing without the mind which produced them. The spirit is like phlogiston, like the flame in fuel which becomes a heap of ashes when the flame is extinguished. It is like the sap in the leaves which if deprived of sap would rustle in the autumnal vapor. A strange spirit can not kindle the ash-heap anew; a strange spirit can not put new life into the dry leaves. Borrowed phrases are lifeless in the mouth of the speaker who recites them by rote.

The same is true of history. In reality history would have its original life only for the man who could revivify the spirit of the times; so much the less for the one who reads into all nations and periods the ideals of his own time. To such a one history must become a dead thing like Schlözer's Universal History according to Herder's judgment or the patched-up speeches of the so-called elocutionary artists according to the judgment of Faust.

"So oftentimes, you miserably mar it!
At the first glance who sees it runs away.
A garbage barrel and a lumber garret."

In the falsification of history "garbage barrel and lumber garret" play the same part as "twisted shreds" in the false use of speech. It is especially noteworthy that here too not only the subject matter

but even the figure and expression of Faust is foreshadowed in Herder. He was fond of comparing the results of the dry and lifeless knowledge of the schools with a garbage heap. By this comparison he meant to give expression to the idea that the once living productions of the spirit would lose all intrinsic value as soon as they were separated by the scientific traffic of the schools from their original life-giving source. The science of the schools separates spirit from the productions of spirit, changes a living thing into a corpse and what is valuable into refuse. In so doing the object of its study becomes a heap of offal, a garbage barrel instead of a living plant.

The most notable resemblance to the garbage barrel in Faust may be found in a letter of Goethe himself to Herder in which the writer makes use of what seems to be originally a comparison of Herder's own. It is probable that Herder received the suggestion for the comparison of false history with a heap of refuse and true history with a living plant from Hamann [known as "the Magus of the North"], while Goethe apparently acquired the comparison through Herder. In May, 1775, Goethe writes with regard to Herder's "Commentaries on the New Testament" and the "Letters of Two Brothers of Jesus": "I have received your books and have regaled myself with them. God knows it is a sentimental world! a living garbage heap. So, thanks! thanks! . . . Your way of sweeping—and not sifting gold out of the garbage, but instead, of transpaligenesizing the garbage into a living plant—sends me to my knees with my whole heart!" Herder is fond of comparing the true course of history to a living plant, the deforming of history to a garbage pile. So Goethe in his letter wishes to turn Herder's own manner of speech back upon himself as he also does in Faust's answer to Wagner.

In the same sense in which he compared the wrong sort of history to a garbage barrel Faust compares it also to a lumber garret. This comparison also I find again in Herder, and essentially in exactly the same connection. The passage stands in the tenth collection of his "Letters on the Advancement of Humanity," not published, it is true, until 1797. There Herder writes: "Every nation must be observed alone in its own position with all that it is and has; arbitrary selections and discardings of separate features and customs do not make history. In such collections we enter into a charnel house, into the nations' store-room and wardrobe; but not into living creation, into those great gardens in which nations have grown like plants and to which they belong."

That the comparison of the wrong sort of history with a wardrobe is not found in Herder until 1797 need not disturb us. It happens very frequently that Herder revived phrases of his youth in his old age. It is therefore very possible that he used this term in talking orally with Goethe in Strassburg. It is even very probable, since this sort of comparison originated in Herder from Hamann who played a large part in Herder's intercourse with Goethe in Strassburg. At any rate we can unhesitatingly bring Herder's "Letters on the Advancement of Humanity" into our consideration of Faust. For the passage cited in Herder does not make the impression of a quotation from Faust, whereas on the other hand the short term in Faust does make the impression of alluding to certain views further developed elsewhere by Herder.

In confirmation of this view let us recall a noteworthy passage from the second collection of the Literary Fragments. It is especially remarkable because in the same connection it contains on the one hand the theory of "the spirit of you all" and on the other hand the words of Faust "garbage barrel" and "lumber garret." Herder writes of the art critic who is learned in the schools, who looks upon the past through the glasses of his own conceptual world: "Instead of becoming a Pygmalion of his author, he knocks off his head as did Claudius of the Roman statues and replaces it with his own."

"What you the spirit of all ages call
Is nothing but the spirit of you all,
Wherein the ages are reflected."

"Like a second Pluto he keeps guard over ancient inherited rubbish and venerable refuse of literature." . . . "With the spectacles of a compendium or the spy-glass of a system in his hand, he now comes closer to this truth and now removes farther from that one in order to keep constantly in view the shadow play of his favorite concepts." (199-205.)

* * *

When Faust comes into his room alone followed by the poodle after his walk on Easter day he has an impulse to open the Bible. He opens it at the Gospel of John:

"I feel impelled its meaning to determine—
With honest feeling once for all,
The hallowèd original
To change to my beloved German."

Here too our assumption is verified that Faust is none other than Herder, for just at the time when Faust was being written

Herder himself was interested in the writings of John. Like Faust he was translating John, and was setting forth his translation and exposition of the Gospel of John in those "Commentaries on the New Testament" to which we have already had occasion to refer in connection with Faust's first midnight monologue. This is the writing of which Goethe wrote in May, 1775, that its exposition was a quickened garbage heap which had been transpalingenesized into a living plant.

If in this point too Faust is Herder, the fact that he translated the Biblical text "with honest feeling," has a particular meaning, for at the time when he was making his comments on the Gospel of John, Herder was convinced that the specialists in New Testament theology often inserted intellectual insincerities into their interpretations of the Bible. It was against this alleged or actual scholastic insincerity that Herder's writings on the New Testament during the seventies contended. He himself speaks in detail about his relation to the specialists and turns to the unprejudiced reader as to an "honest inquirer" who is not contented to stop at the quibbling of the mode of speech but "hastens on to the sap, to the sense, to the truth."

Faust too tried to be an "honest inquirer." He too passed beyond the externalities of linguistic use to the sap, to the sense, to the truth of the written word. This is what it means when he goes at the translation with honest "feeling." Here too the feeling stands as the fountain-head of the inner life in contrast to the dry sense and dead reflections contained in the externalities. Here too feeling is the door of revelation through which the right interpretation must come.

We recall Herder's words that "nobody but a priest of God" can write history: that "only on the heights of revelation" can there be "vision." Faust translates the Gospel of John as a priest of God upon the heights of revelation. In this interpretation he is "by the Spirit truly taught"; "a warning is suggested"; "the Spirit aids" him. Faust's feeling with regard to the Gospel of John is another instrument of his union with Deity as in the first acts of the drama it was the instrument of his union with the spirit world. Faust translates:

"T is written: 'In the beginning was the *Word*.'
 Here am I balked: who, now, can help afford?
 The *Word*?—impossible so high to rate it;
 And otherwise must I translate it,
 If by the Spirit I am truly taught.
 Then thus: 'In the beginning was the *Thought*.'
 This first line let me weigh completely,

Lest my impatient pen proceed too fleetly.
 Is it the *Thought* which works, creates, indeed?
 'In the beginning was the *Power*,' I read.
 Yet, as I write, a warning is suggested,
 That I the sense may not have fairly tested.
 The Spirit aids me: now I see the light!
 'In the beginning was the *Act*,' I write."

As we see Faust struggling with the translation of the "Word" in the beginning of the Gospel of John so at the time of the inception of Faust we see Herder having trouble with the same Word. He devotes to it an extensive consideration from the point of view of the history of religion and philosophy and then proceeds to an attempt to render the Johannine Logos into German, which reflects the similar action of Faust.

"Word!" Thus Herder begins, and we can clearly see in him also the same deadlock as that of Faust striving after a more appropriate expression. "But the German word does not say what is contained in the original concept; if I could only find an expression which would express the concept and its expression, the original concept and its first operation, idea and reproduction, thought and word in the purest, highest, most spiritual way. . . . in and through Deity and by it and in its depth. . . . is the word, thought, image, idea of God; . . . eternally effective, creative, thought, will, image, primeval power, plan of God (merely human imperfect words. . . .) all for this one being, essential, personal, supremely perfect."

Thus Faust's very difficulties at translation are found in the first manuscript form given by Herder to his "Commentaries on the New Testament." And in the printed edition of these commentaries we can still see the effort at a proper translation where the Word of John is "the image of God in the human soul, thought, word, will, deed, love. . . . Nothing is more effective, more inspiring than this Word. It is the will, the prototype of that which is to be, power, deed. . . . It is this Word in our soul that restrains us, bears us on and stimulates us."

In this passage may also be noted a relation between Goethe's Faust and Herder's writings which we have previously mentioned. What in Faust is indicated by a few words not always quite intelligible in themselves is clearly established and carried out in detail in Herder's writings. This is also true of our passage as a whole, but as a special instance we may turn our attention to the lines:

"Is it the *Thought* which works, creates, indeed?
 'In the beginning was the *Power*,' I read."

The translation of the Johannine *Logos* as work, creation, power, is probably intelligible enough to the educated reader, yet its insertion will seem to every unprejudiced person comparatively uncalled for in the present connection of our Faust passage. In Herder the connection is more obvious, but he discusses not only the "Word" and its popular conception in the beginning of the Gospel of John, but the *Logos* as a philosophical and religious concept in general. Of this indeed Herder could say without danger of misinterpretation that it is creative and eternally efficacious.

* * *

Faust's poodle becomes disclosed as Mephistopheles, and now the question is to define the nature of Mephistopheles. It has long been observed that in this definition an interpretation of evil and good plays a part which vividly recalls the religion of Zoroaster. This observation is not without foundation, but indeed Goethe was not obliged to go first to Jacob Böhme for his Parsi doctrine of the conflict between light and darkness. He drew it from a much nearer source, from Herder's Commentary on the Gospel of John in which is found the manifold translation of the *Logos* which has just been quoted. The complete title of Herder's work reads, "Commentaries on the New Testament from a Recently Discovered Oriental Source." This Oriental source is none other than the Avesta which was made newly accessible to the world by Anquetil du Perron in the year 1771. From Herder's commentaries based on the Avesta Goethe derived the details of Mephistopheles's character.

"With all you gentlemen, the name's a test,
Whereby the nature usually is expressed.
Clearly the latter it implies
In names like Beelzebub, Destroyer, Father of Lies.
Who art thou, then?"

"Part of that Power, not understood,
Which always wills the Bad, and always works the Good."

"What hidden sense in this enigma lies?"

"I am the Spirit that Denies!
And justly so: for all things, from the Void
Called forth, deserve to be destroyed:
'T were better, then, were naught created,—
Thus, all which you as Sin have rated,—
Destruction,—aught with Evil blent,—
That is my proper element."

Most strangely are we moved at the first glance by that remarkable train of thought by which Faust arrives at the name of

Mephistopheles. In the case of Deity feeling is everything and the word so much despised, but it is different with the powers of the underworld.

How Goethe reached this particular train of thought is shown by the original connection of the thought in Herder. The entire description of the nature of Mephistopheles is very obviously derived from him. In the corresponding passage in the "Commentaries on the New Testament" we read:

"It is an axiom of the new philology that the whole collection of Indian devil tales come only from Chaldea. If this is true then Chaldea is at least first of all the key to the language on this subject. . . . Let us bring forward a series of his names and predicates of which the long litanies of the Zendavesta are full: Adversary, Enemy, Sneak, Lord or King of Death, Slayer, Liar, Father of Sin. . . . the Evil One, the Villain, the Base One, Nesosch is his ordinary name."

We see that the unusual idea in Faust of reading the nature of Mephistopheles from his names referred originally to the characteristic language of the Chaldeans.

The same is true of the next words of Mephistopheles in which he exhibits his nature by his works, for Herder joins to each group of Chaldean devil names a series of descriptions which closely resemble the words of Mephistopheles. For instance he says with regard to the name "King of Death": "From the beginning he spread over all the elements, tried to poison and destroy all life, corrupted the first human beings, brought sin and death into the world, engendered illness and horrible vice.

Finally Mephistopheles calls himself

"Part of that power, not understood,
Which always wills the bad and always works the good."

Strangely enough this peculiar statement belongs also to the thought-cycle of Herder's writings. A genuine child of the 18th century, Herder thought that the victory of good over evil was apparent throughout the world. He was convinced that the power of evil in the world was destined to change into good. "According to an unalterable law of nature, evil itself must bring forth something good." Mephistopheles also is subject to this law.

Returning to Herder's writings on the Gospel of John we see that there as in Faust, Mephistopheles is "the spirit that denies" in spite of the undesired good result of his activity. All evil and sin in the world is his work, "is the generally accepted symbol of evil

and stands opposed to the light." In the description of his own nature Mephistopheles continues, emphasizing especially his antagonism to light:

"Part of the Part am I, once All, in primal night—
Part of the darkness which brought forth the light,
The haughty light, which now disputes the space,
And claims of Mother Night her ancient place."

These words portray the Avesta theory of the origin of the world upon which Herder based his comments on John. At earlier periods he had investigated similar modes of thought of other Oriental religions in connection with his work on the Old Testament, but he was particularly engaged with the Avesta at the time when he was in contact with Goethe at Strassburg.

We now return to Herder's commentaries on the Gospel of John which were influenced by the Avesta and in which the conflict described by Mephistopheles between darkness and light is most clearly evident. In the Avesta light contends with Mother Night for her old rank, for space. "The light shineth in darkness," writes Herder, "and the darkness comprehendeth it not, that is, did not receive it or was not able to withstand it. We see here the painting of present and past creation down to the noblest kinds of existence, all from one foundation. Light reflects only light. . . . In darkness, across a great ocean of undeveloped to that of developed powers, these higher rays of light were spread like stars from the dark curtain of night. Night is not part of them, it does not comprehend them, but neither can it swallow them up."

Similarly Herder writes in another passage: "The realm of light is forever in conflict with this night." And again: "Darkness (personifying Zoroaster) saw light as it was coming in brilliance and beauty, and hastened to pollute it, but fell back into his realm, the desert, and had no power against it. . . . Whatever light and life there is in the world, however dispersed it may be, however much it shines in the dark, and contends against darkness,—the good in the world must overcome evil, light darkness!"

Mephistopheles represents from his standpoint the reverse picture. According to his description darkness does not rush to pollute light, but *vice versa* light rushes towards darkness to purify it. It is not darkness that falls back in the face of light, but *vice versa* it is light that recoils from material bodies. And it is not light, Mephistopheles hopes, that will conquer in the end, but *vice versa*, darkness with its material world will overcome light.

"And yet, the struggle fails; since Light, howe'er it weaves,
Still, fettered, unto bodies cleaves:
It flows from bodies, bodies beautifies;
By bodies is its course impeded;
And so, but little time is needed,
I hope, ere, as the bodies die, it dies!" (235-237.)

[There are many more points mentioned by Dr. Jacoby such as the sterility of logic, of speculation, of analysis, that the spirit escapes while merely the parts remain. Further passages contribute to the condemnation of the use of words without meaning; and Herder makes comments similar to Goethe's on man's hankering after becoming like unto God. When Herder says: "All philosophy which begins with self and ends in self is of its cousin the serpent," we are reminded of Mephistopheles's expression, "My cousin the serpent."—ED.]

VERSES FROM JAPAN.

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE ARTHUR LLOYD.

It has no voice, the butterfly; but if
It had, perchance they'd put it in a cage,
And make it sing like some poor dicky-bird.

Daurin.

"Cuckoo!" cried one. "Why sings he not to-day?
Tell him I'll wring his neck unless he sing."
"Cuckoo!" another cried. "He knows not how,
So I must teach him."

But a third there was,
A patient statesman! "If he do not sing
To-day," said he, "I'll wait until he does."¹

Shoha, *ob.* 1600.

Think of eternity, past and to come,
And life is but as when a man escapes
A fleeting shower beneath some sheltering roof.

Sôgi, 1421-1502.

The year grows old, the well-worn winter robes
Come from their camphor chest, and, in their stead,
In go the light spring dresses; but, alas!
The spring joy goes in with them.—

Daurin.

The nightingale² doth sing at dinner time,
And when it sings 'midst clash of plates and cups
No one doth care to hear.

Buson, 1716-83.

¹ The three men are said to be Hideyoshi, Nobunaga and Iyeyasu.

² The Japanese nightingale (*uguisu*) sings by daylight.

Be not thou like the croaking frog that opes
His wide-stretched mouth, and shows you everything
That he has in him.

Anon.

There's always something wrong:
When noisy boatmen are not quarreling,
Then it's the frogs.

Yūya.

Soul-rapt, I listen to the entrancing song
Of that fair nightingale, which carries me
Almost to heaven's portals. Then a knock
Which brings me back to earth—the baker's boy!
Yaha, 1663-1740.

Sweet lark! 'tis very well for you each morn
To sing at heaven's gate your matin song;
But think of your poor young ones in the nest,
Waiting for breakfast.

Sugiyama.

My girl, your worldly vanities are like
A snow-storm falling.
Sweep it as you will,
Your doorstep's always white with tradesmen's bills.
Izembō, *ob.* 1710.

I've dreamed this dream for well-nigh eighty years.
Countless eternity, on either side
Seems a short nothing to the long-drawn dream.
Kaibara Ekiken,² 1630-1714.

POEMS BY SOMA GYOFU.⁴

Japan.

Thou youthful keeper of the flower-beds,
Time was, when in thy small domains there stood
Not many flowers, but these of costly hue;
Which thou did'st tend with single-hearted love.

² A great Confucianist teacher.

⁴ A young and comparatively unknown poet.

But now thy borders are enlarged, and lo!
 Thy beds are filled with many an ill-matched flower;
 And rare exotics from beyond the seas
 Stand cheek by jowl with plants of native growth,
 With cherry, plum, and tall chrysanthemum.
 Distraction haunts thee in thy very dreams,
 Thou know'st not which to choose, or this or that,
 And nought is trim and neat as heretofore.
 Ah! youthful keeper of the flower-beds!

God.

God? Can I paint that which I cannot see
 Nor comprehend,—the vaguely Infinite,
 Beyond all human ken, or word, or thought?
 Yet from the known we figure the unknown,
 And shadow forth the shadowless; and thus
 God is the heart that loves,—the lover's heart,
 That looks and yearns for sweet return of love;
 The husband's heart, that makes companionship
 With her whose hand he holds and calls his own;
 The father's heart, that careth for his son,
 Watching his growth with fond paternal pride.

And lovers, parting, oft-times interchange
 Twin trinkets, tokens of a common love,
 And each one, gazing on the thing he wears,
 "My love," says he, "beyond the cold gray sea,
 Wears the twin fellow of this ring I wear,
 And, gazing, thinks of me as I of her:
 By this I know our absent love holds good."
 Such is the thing that men have christened Faith.

The Beyond.

Thou standest at the brink. Behind thy back
 Stretch the fair flower-decked meadows, full of light,
 And pleasant change of wooded hill and dale
 With tangled scrub of thorn and bramble bush
 Which men call life. Lo! now thy traveled foot
 Stands by the margin of the silent pool
 And, as thou stand'st, thou fearest, lest some hand
 Come from behind, and push thee suddenly
 Into its cold, dark, depths.

Thou needst not fear:
 The hidden depths have their own fragrance too
 And he that loves the grasses of the field,
 With fragrant lilies decks the still pool's face,
 With weeds the dark recesses of the deep.
 March boldly on, nor fear the sudden plunge,
 Nor ask where ends life's pleasant meadow-land.
 E'en the dark pool hath its own fragrant flowers.

Disenchantment.

I dreamed, and in my dreams I heard the sound
 Of soul-sweet music, harmonies divine,
 And started from my couch, and oped my eyes
 To earth's realities. A stringless lute
 Lay by my side, voiceless, and that was all—
 The lying base on which had reared itself
 The futile fabric of melodious dreams.
 Ah me! the disenchantment! How shall I
 Lie down a second time, and rest my head
 On pillows of dull rest, but not again
 On pillows haunted by melodious sounds?

The Helpless Life.

Helpless I sit upon the rock and watch
 The soaring stream flow by me. Idle drift
 Of weeds and leaves caught by the eddying pool,
 Is washed against the rock, and gathers there,
 The harvest of the waters. As I watch,
 The sun goes down, and I must leave my post.

A Contemplated Suicide.

She stood beside the still dark pool of death,
 And saw her face, so young, so beautiful,
 Mirrored upon the waters, slowly turned,
 And sought once more the happy paths of life.

MISCELLANEOUS.

LAO-TZE BY CHOU FANG.

In the collection of Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, there is a valuable picture of Lao-tze by Chou Fang, a famous painter of the age of the T'ang dynasty (618-907). Chou Fang was also called Chung-lang and King-hüan. See Professor Hirth's *Scraps from a Collector's Note Book*, page 91. From Prof. H. A. Giles's *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, (pages 65-66) we quote the following notes:

"Chou Fang flourished as an artist under the Emperor Tê Tsung, A. D. 780-805. His elder brother had accompanied Ko-shu Han on his victorious campaign against the Turfan, when the Chinese army captured the 'Stone Fortress,' the *λίθινος πύργος* of Marianus of Tyre and of Ptolemy, recently identified by Dr. Stein. On his return, he was able to put in a good word for his younger brother, and the latter was summoned to court, and ordered to execute a painting of a religious subject in a temple which the Emperor had just restored. 'No sooner had he begun to paint than the people of the capital flocked in to watch him, fools and wise alike, some pointing out the beauties of his work, and others drawing attention to its shortcomings. He made changes accordingly, and by the end of a month or so there was not a dissentient voice to be heard, everybody uniting in praise of the painting, and declaring it to be the masterpiece of the day.'

"Among his other great pictures may be mentioned 'Moonlight on the Water,' 'The Goddess of Mercy,' 'Vaisravana' (whose features were revealed to him in a dream), and also a portrait of Chao Tsung, son-in-law to the great general Kuo Tzū-i. A previous portrait of him had been executed by Han Kan, and the old father-in-law 'had the two placed side by side for comparison, but could not decide between them. When his daughter came to see him, he said, Who are these? Those are the Secretary, she replied. Which portrait is most like? he continued. They are both very like, she said, but the later one is the better picture. What do you mean by that? he asked. The earlier portrait is the Secretary so far as form and features go, answered his daughter; the later artist has caught in addition the very soul of the man, who seems to be laughing and talking before us.'

"The *Hsüan ho hua p'u* enumerates the titles of seventy-two of his pictures in the Imperial collection (12th cent.).

"In the very early years of the 9th century, according to one authority, there appeared certain men from the Hsin-lo nation, who 'bought up at a high price several tens of Chou Fang's pictures, and carried them away to their own country.' This entry is of some importance, Hsin-lo being an old king-

dom in the south-west of Korea, from which country Japan is said to have received her first lessons in Chinese art. Huang Po-ssü, the art-critic, points out that Chou Fang made his name first of all by Buddhistic pictures, and that later on his Taoist pictures were among the finest of his day. 'But now,' he adds, 'we see nothing save his men and girls, which is very much a matter for regret.'"

This artist also painted a picture of Confucius and another of Lao-tze as *T'ai Shang Lao Chün*, "the Great Exalted Ancient Sage," under which title he has been deified as the chief Taoist deity.

Our frontispiece, a reproduction of Mr. Freer's Chou Fang, represents Lao-tze as playing on a stringed instrument, and so far as we know this is the only picture in which he is so portrayed. Apparently the artist has in mind that a man whose main intention was to harmonize the soul by insisting on its attainment of unity must have been a lover of music. Lao-tze says in the tenth chapter of his *Canon of Reason and Virtue*: "Who by unending discipline of the senses embraces unity cannot be disintegrated." Usually he is painted as seated on an ox, indicating his journey into the distant west.

In this picture the sage, with a distant and thoughtful expression in his eye, is sitting cross-legged, the lute on his knees. His attendant, a boy of about fifteen, is squatting on his heels. Lao-tze is surrounded by scrolls, a gourd bottle, a fan, a bag, a back-scratcher in the shape of an ivory hand on a stick, and other objects.

The Open Court Publishing Company has in preparation a new and thoroughly revised edition of Dr. Paul Carus's translation of *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*, which it is expected will appear in the spring.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

ERINNERUNGEN EINER ERZIEHERIN. Nach Aufzeichnungen von * * * mit einem Vorwort herausgegeben von Prof. Ernst Mach. Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1912. Pp. 318.

That Professor Mach considers these "Recollections of a Governess" of sufficient interest to encourage their publication and to introduce them to the public himself is sufficient guarantee of their enjoyable character. In themselves these sketches portray a life experience of remarkable courage. Many details would be unspeakably pathetic were it not for the strength and bravery with which obstacles were overcome and defeat turned into victory. The chapter which records the author's experiences in Croatia reads quite like a sensational novel. The interest in the volume will be especially great just now because of the romantic picture another chapter gives of life and loyalty in Montenegro. We do not know the exact date of the author's sojourn there but suppose it was some time during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

The book contains many charming anecdotes about children in connection with the author's intimate acquaintance with them. In a chapter on "The Psychology of the Child," she has collected a number of notes from her own experience supplemented by comments on various writers who have made a study of the child-mind. These notes bear on the following general topics: Natural ability and education, cunning and persistence, vanity and the instinct of self-preservation, the child as poet, evolution, pity, memory, falsehood,

hallucinations, illusions of sense and memory, visions, recollection and misrecollection, grief, childish jealousy, imagination, the language of children, and children's pets.

We translate a few of the anecdotes she has collected in a chapter of miscellanies:

The Astronomy of Children.

This is often very curious. A boy pointed to a twinkling star and asked why it winked its eyes; then why it did not fall, or whether there was water up there in which it could swim.

A little girl accompanied her older sister to the poultry yard to gather the freshly laid eggs. Some time afterwards she was thoughtfully gazing one night at the sky and asked, "Aren't the stars the eggs which the moon has laid?" Here the author calls attention in a footnote to the resemblance to the cosmology of the ancient Egyptians.

One little school-girl thought that on cloudy days the sun had a holiday, and expressed surprise only that its holiday did not recur at regular intervals. She wondered considerably that in the winter she had to take her piano lesson by lamplight whereas in the spring I called her to her lesson while the sun was still shining. When I explained to her the lengthening of the days, she shook her head doubtfully: "There is no order about it," she grumbled.

Once when the sky was covered with dark clouds I asked a pupil, "Why are the clouds so black?" "Because the water is dirty up there," was the prompt reply.

Children's Sayings.

A group of children were jumping down from the steps of a staircase, at first from the first step and then from the second. When they wished to continue from the third and the fourth they were forbidden, being told that they might break their feet. "How lucky God is," sighed a little girl, "for he could jump down from the twelfth step without breaking his foot."

A boy once drew a picture of a hen with but one foot. When he was criticized for it he said, "The second foot is on the other side."

"Mamma," asked a small boy, "Why do I have feathers only on my head while a pigeon has them on his whole body?" He did not comprehend the difference between feathers and hair.

A lady had a French maid who was by no means a beauty. When she proposed to her six year old son that he should learn the French language she received the answer, "But, mamma, please why should I learn French when all French women are so ugly?"

A boy of nine years confided to his little five year old cousin that he was going to marry a certain girl. The little one answered indignantly, "Do you intend to marry a girl like that? She is not at all healthy and hasn't any money. You had better marry me. I have ten florins in the bank."

A boy of seven years wanted to kiss his governess. She saw that his mouth was black with plum jam and so refused. "Oh, never mind," said the boy, "play it's a mustache."

A girl who was particularly good in nature study gave the following answers: "What is the goose?" "A singing bird." "What is the sparrow?" "A ruminant." "What is the snail?" "A beast of prey."

One evening I was out in the garden with my pupils. It was on a hill which sloped down steeply towards a meadow. Below in the meadow brook

a frog concert was taking place. One little girl of eleven years said: "Listen, Fräulein, they are regular Frenchmen." "How do you mean?" "The old ones are crying, *Roi, Roi*, and the young ones, *République, République!*"

Wickedness.

Of the wickedness of children which one hears so much about I have known but little. I have had to suffer only from the inconsistency and lack of comprehension of parents, who often work against the governess, sometimes from ignorance and sometimes from jealousy. For this reason I am always horrified at the efforts of those who try to introduce into the schools a larger amount of the influence of parents. What teacher could stand it? It would be necessary first to establish a school for parents. ρ

MY LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE. By *Muriel Strode*. Chicago: McClurg, 1912.

The many admirers of Muriel Strode's *My Little Book of Prayer* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1905) will cordially welcome her *Book of Life*. Like the former publication it is composed of brief and pithy aphorisms betraying an original and independent mind and often furnishing food for helpful thought. We believe we can best serve our readers by quoting a number of these terse sentences taken at random.

"If I go unloved, I shall not chide Fate, but I shall bemoan that I should be a thing unlovable.

"I will not ask for succor, but for increased strength.

"I cursed my misfortune,—and it remained one.

"I importuned the gods, and got a beggar's deserts.

"When I moan in agony of body, you may heal me, but when I moan in agony of soul, I must heal myself.

"If I would be queen to-morrow when I sit upon a throne, I must be not less a queen to-day in my hand-maiden sphere.

"Gladly would I toil in the mill,—it is the tread-mill we pray to be delivered from.

"Yesterday's weaving is as irrevocable as yesterday. I may not draw out the threads, but I may change my shuttle.

"In the hey-day I painted the spirit of the free, unfettered flight, and men passed it by, but later I painted the shadow of the broken pinion, and they came to look.

"It is my unending privilege to be my most eccentric self, but it is not my privilege to inflict my eccentricities upon my neighbor. When I am my neighbor's guest, I will leave my cats and my parrots behind in my own domain.

"I prayed to God for strength to keep a promise, when strength to break it was my great need.

"Who can abandon the thing but abandons a foundling. He has never known his own.

"We pray for fruition, when, if our prayer were answered, our all-too-soon-ripened fruit would be worm-mellowed and wind-blown.

"To become reconciled to, may be to become like unto. I will have a care. I may be the tree-toad taking on the color of the tree.

"It cannot possibly be to my discredit that I believed in you, but it may be to your shame.

"Life could have withheld her lash, but she did not wish me to die in my sleep.

"I toiled for my body, and starved. That day that I labor for my soul, the birds from heaven will feed me.

"I said I did not have time, but to what did I give the time, and was it a fair exchange?

"I bemoaned conditions, when I should have bemoaned merely the faint heart within me.

"I saw a cross on the mountain-side, white and holy in its repose, and on approach I found that it was a fissure in the earth, a scar, a nature-wound, which had been healed and anointed.

"I know not your decree to keep the Sabbath day holy. Go tell it to the brook. It will chortle at your implied desecration of the other six.

"I would have the things that I desire, to prove my power, and then I would have the capacity to forego them, to prove my greatness.

"I have stayed too long with a task that fed an alien hunger, and starved my own soul.

"I cry for the light to break, while all the time the light is shining. Courage to follow it is my great need.

"I will swear by a thing to-day, but I will have the courage to denounce it to-morrow, if needs be. The vows of ignorance are not binding upon enlightenment.

"Give me that fabric which bears the fingermarks of the weaver, whose thread is the fiber of character, and whose design is the impress of soul.

"Life gives her best gifts to those who could get on without them.

"I will have a care lest my burden rest all too long where my wings might have grown.

"If I drink the hemlock, it is because I have sat long hours over the fire brewing my own bitterness."

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FARMERS OF FORTY CENTURIES Or Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea and Japan. By F. H. King. Madison, Wisconsin: Mrs. F. H. King, 1911. Pp. 441. Price \$2.50.

The author of this posthumous work was formerly professor of agricultural physics in the University of Wisconsin, and chief director of soil-management in the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Professor King has been a great authority in matters agricultural and has written a number of good books on his specialty, among which we enumerate *The Soil, Irrigation and Drainage*, *Physics of Agriculture* and *Ventilation for Dwellings, Rural Schools and Stables*. The present book is of a somewhat different character, for it refers to the nations of northeastern Asia, China, Korea and Japan. The book is fully illustrated, and is prefaced by Dr. L. H. Bailey, who has undertaken the publication of Professor King's manuscripts. The subject matter is treated in seventeen chapters and is the result of a journey to Japan, China, Manchuria and Korea. There are not less than 248 pictures and charts, all of which help to make the observations of the author vivid. The discussion is not entirely limited to agricultural matters, but treats all matters of interest in a pleasant way in the style of a diary, though the subjects of agriculture, of rice-culture, production of silk, and tea industry and other subjects relating to making a living out of the soil, receive first attention.

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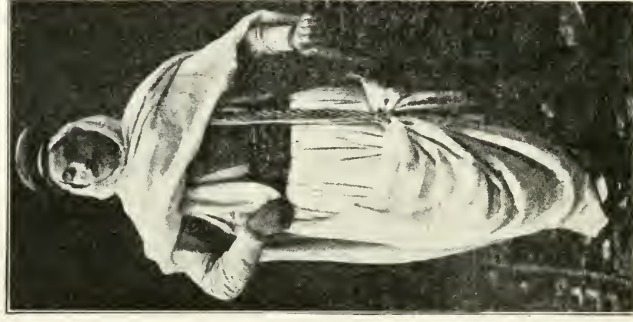
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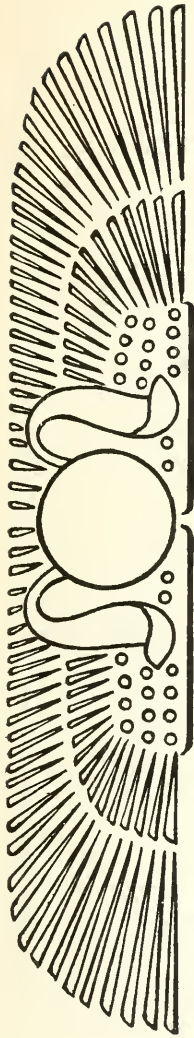
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